Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-188
Friday
29 September 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-188 *29 September 1989*

CONTENTS

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Further Reports on Berlin Ideology Conference 1
Fojtik Calls for 'Offensive' *[CTK]* 1
Fojtik Meets Medvedev *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Sep]* 1
Olteanu Meets Mittag *[AGERPRES]* 1
Barabas Addresses Conference *[NEPSZABADSAG 23 Sep]* 1
Trade Union Representatives Meet in Prague *[PRACE 23 Sep]* 3
Foreign Ministries' 'Working' Meeting Reported *[BTA]* 3
CSSR Minister Views Havana CEMA Meeting *[Bratislava PRAVDA 25 Sep]* 3
Agreements on Scientific Cooperation Reached *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21 Sep]* 4
Solidarity Paper on Riga International Conference *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 23 Aug]* 4
CEMA Bureau for Coal Mining Opens Session *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Sep]* 4
Pact Defense Ministers To Meet in November *[Warsaw Radio]* 4

ALBANIA

Baker-Shevardnadze Wyoming Meeting Discussed *[ZERI I POPULLIT 24 Sep]* 5
Bush, Shevardnadze Cited on Chemical Weapons *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Albanian-FRG Culture Festival Reportage 5
FRG Officials Arrive *[ATA]* 5
'Week of FRG Culture' Begins *[ATA]* 6
FRG's Schoefer at Hoxha's Grave *[ATA]* 7
Received by Gjyzari, Visits Durres *[ATA]* 7
Foreign Trade Minister Leaves for Bulgaria *[ATA]* 7

BULGARIA

Health Ministry Checks Returnees From Turkey *[BTA]* 8
Zhivkov Meets GDR Ambassador at Plovdiv Fai *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 26 Sep]* 8
Zhivkov Visits Romanian Stand *[AGERPRES]* 8
Contracts With SFRY, USSR Signed *[BTA]* 8
Cooperation Talks Held With Macedonia *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 21 Sep]* 9
Barriers to Private Business Development Viewed *[POGLED 25 Sep]* 9

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Johanes Meets With Secretary Baker at UN *[Prague Radio]* 11
Meets With Shevardnadze *[Prague TV]* 11
Sees Mock, Rao in NY *[CTK]* 11
Greets More Counterparts *[CTK]* 11
'Emigration Wave' From GDR Continues To Grow 12
Hungarian Solution 'Out of Question' *[Vienna Radio]* 12
2,000 Refugees at FRG Embassy *[Prague TV]* 12
Situation 'Critical' at Embassy *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Sep]* 12
Bratislava Blames FRG *[Halousek on Bratislava Radio]* 12
CPSU Must Remain 'Unifier' of Society *[Jancura in Bratislava PRAVDA 22 Sep]* 13
Poland's Rakowski Prague Visit 'Fruitful' *[Macha, Minarik in RUDE PRAVO 27 Sep]* 14
300 Poles Turned Back at Border, Trains Delayed *[RUDE PRAVO 25 Sep]* 15
Protocol Signed With Hungary on Gabcikovo Project *[CTK]* 15
'Realistic' Forint-Koruna Exchange Rate Needed *[RUDE PRAVO 25 Sep]* 15
Romania's Dobrin Ends Visit 22 Sep *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Sep]* 16
Chinese Consumer Goods To Help Allay Shortages *[PRACE 22 Sep]* 16
Vaclavik Returns From PRC, DPRK 22 Sep *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Sep]* 16

CPCZ Congratulates Israeli CP on Anniversary *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Sep]* 17
Easing Of Foreign Travel Restrictions Announced *[RUDE PRAVO 25 Sep]* 17
Inter-Agency Space Cooperation Discussed *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Sep]* 18
Tank Dismantling Begins in North Moravia *[CTK]* 18
Slusovice Manager on Importance of Profit *[RUDE PRAVO 22 Sep]* 18
Knotek Discusses Party's Economic Tasks *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Sep]* 19
Daily Warns Against 'Political Clericalism' *[Bratislava PRAVDA 26 Sep]* 22
RUDE PRAVO Replies to Readers' Questions *[RUDE PRAVO 23 Sep]* 22
Mine Waters Pollute River Ohre *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Sep]* 24

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

U.S. Policy on Arms Control Analyzed *[Kurze on East Berlin Radio]* 26
Delegations for 40th Anniversary Listed *[ADN]* 26
Ilmenau-Homburg Town Twinning Agreement Ratified *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 27 Sep]* 27
Citizens Detained at Border With Poland *[Hamburg DPA]* 27
New Forum Leader Rejects 'Antisocialist' Claim *[Hamburg DPA]* 27
Update on Number of Dissident Arrests in Leipzig *[Hamburg DPA]* 28

HUNGARY

Horn Discloses Agreement on GDR Refugees *[MTI]* 29
Assembly Dissociates Itself From CSSR Invasion *[MTI]* 29
CSSR Criticizes Statements *[Budapest Radio]* 29
Trade Official on Effects of Soviet Oil Troubles *[Budapest Radio]* 30
State Minister on Differing MSZMP Platforms *[MTI]* 30
Deputies' Proposals Put to Parliament *[MTI]* 30
Minister Karpati Discusses Role of Armed Forces *[Budapest TV]* 31
Council of Ministers Plans Future Meetings *[MTI]* 34
Exchange of Letters Between Church, Nemeth *[Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG 24 Sep]* 34

POLAND

Finance Minister Holds Washington Talks *[TRYBUNA LUDU 26 Sep]* 35
PAP Report *[PAP]* 35
Mazowiecki Meets d'Estaing on Western Aid *[PAP]* 35
Foreign Trade Minister Seeks Aid in Brussels *[TRYBUNA LUDU 26 Sep]* 36
Further Reportage on GDR Refugee Issue 36
Vogel Repeats Offer at Embassy *[Hamburg DPA]* 36
'Some' Refugees Accept Offer *[Hamburg DPA]* 37
'Around 50' Leave Embassy *[Hamburg DPA]* 37
Almost 2,500 in FRG Embassy *[Hamburg DPA]* 37
Skubiszewski Addresses United Nations *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 26 Sep]* 37
Mazowiecki Receives BBC Polish Section Chief *[Warsaw Radio]* 40
CSSR Daily Interviews PZPR's Rakowski *[RUDE PRAVO 25 Sep]* 40
Walesa Warns Against 'Absurd' Price Increases *[Warsaw Radio]* 44
Solidarity Leader Plans To Quit Politics *[PAP]* 45
Seeks Life as 'Ordinary Citizen' *[Madrid Radio]* 45
Budapest TV Interviews Rakowski, Walesa 45
2d Part 15th PZPR CC Plenum on 3 Oct *[Warsaw TV]* 47
PZPR Information Commission Meets *[TRYBUNA LUDU 26 Sep]* 47
Orzechowski Discusses PZPR Deputies Club *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 26 Sep]* 48
Defense Minister on Party Structures in Army *[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 26 Sep]* 50
PZPR's Krol on Change in Party's Status *[POLITYKA 2 Sep]* 50
Rakowski Meets UPP Chairman Ludwiczak *[PAP]* 53
Democratic Party Elects New Leader *[PAP]* 53
Mazowiecki Meets With SDP, NZS Heads *[PAP]* 53
GAZETA WYBORCZA Called 'Biggest Paper' *[PAP]* 53
Cabinet Appoints Ownership Transformation Official *[Warsaw TV]* 53
Prison Chief Discusses Prison Unrest *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 25 Sep]* 54
Civic Militia To Reduce Riot Police *[Warsaw TV]* 55

ROMANIA

Proposals at Vienna Arms Talks Reviewed *[AGERPRES]* 56
Balkans Without Foreign Military Bases Favored *[AGERPRES]* 56
Ungur Meets Iranian Economic Officials *[AGERPRES]* 57

YUGOSLAVIA

Slovene Potrc's News Conference on Amendments *[TANJUG]* 58
Protests Increase Over Slovene Adoption Decision *[TANJUG]* 58
Slovene Amendments Make 'Loose Confederation' *[Jerotijevic on Belgrade Radio]* 58
Suvar Gives Presidency's Views on Amendments *[Belgrade Radio]* 59
TANJUG Reports Suvar 60
Presidency Member Tupurkovski Views Amendments *[TANJUG]* 60
Slovene Alternative Groups on Changes *[BORBA 20 Sep]* 61
Daljevic Opposes Proposed Slovene Amendments *[VJESNIK 22 Sep]* 62
JNA Communists Comment on Slovene Crisis *[TANJUG]* 63
Novi Sad Meeting Protests Slovene Amendments *[Belgrade Radio]* 64
Slovene Radio Cites Montenegrin 'Saber Rattling' *[Ljubljana Radio]* 65
Skopje 'Condemns' Disunity Caused by Amendments *[Belgrade Radio]* 65
Kosovo Party Presidium on Slovene Amendments *[Belgrade Radio]* 66
Urges Use of 'All Means' *[TANJUG]* 66
News Conference Held on Kosovo Situation *[TANJUG]* 67
Stari Trg Strike Termed 'Political' in Kosovo *[Pristina Radio]* 67
Further on Strike *[Belgrade Radio]* 67
Serbian Vico Interviewed on Republican Rifts *[BORBA 16-17 Sep]* 68
Drnovsek, Others Attend UN General Assembly 69
Arrive in New York *[TANJUG]* 69
Drnovsek Addresses UN *[TANJUG]* 70
Meet Perez de Cuellar *[TANJUG]* 73
Meet President Bush *[TANJUG]* 73
Drnovsek Returns 'Ahead of Schedule' *[Ljubljana Radio]* 73
Presidency Positively Assesses Nonaligned Summit *[Belgrade Radio]* 74
Drnovsek Opens Zagreb International Fair *[TANJUG]* 74
Praises Fair Achievements *[Zagreb Radio]* 75

Further Reports on Berlin Ideology Conference

Fojtik Calls for 'Offensive'

LD2209203489 Prague CTK in English 1910 GMT 22 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin Sept 22 (CTK correspondent)—"We must counter the propaganda offensive of our enemies with an offensive of our ideology", Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee secretary Jan Fojtik said in an interview for CTK and RUDE PRAVO today, at the close of a two-day meeting of secretaries for ideology of the Central Committees of the socialist countries' fraternal parties.

He said the purpose of the meeting was to exchange views on the present problems of socialism and on ways of strengthening cooperation in the struggle against anti-communist forces which want to make use of the difficulties the socialist countries are currently experiencing.

Just now when grave dangers threaten socialism, discussions must take place and ways must be sought how to avert these threats, Jan Fojtik said, stressing that the values of socialism achieved through the selfless work of whole generations must be depended and developed.

He said the meeting had fulfilled its purpose, it was held in an open and comradely atmosphere. It has shown that different approaches are no obstacle to mutual understanding and to the development of cooperation.

Jan Fojtik stressed the necessity to use every possibility for achieving mutual understanding and, on the basis of a creative approach to Marxism-Leninism and respect for the specific conditions of development in the individual countries, for consolidating all that strengthens the socialist community.

Fojtik Meets Medvedev

AU2509145189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 89 pp 1, 7

[Vladimir Plesnik, CTK Berlin dispatch: "Our Ideology's Offensive"]

[Excerpts] Berlin (from our correspondent and CTK)—A conference of Central Committee secretaries in charge of ideology of the socialist countries' communist and workers parties ended in the GDR capital of Berlin on Friday [22 September]. [passage omitted on participants' being received by Guenter Mittag]

In the course of the debate on Friday, Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, took the floor.

In his address he stressed the need for such meetings, especially at present as revolutionary social changes are taking hold in individual socialist countries. Such exchanges of experiences and views benefit the further development and strengthening of cooperation, while respecting the heterogeneousness and specific nature of conditions in each individual country, Jan Fojtik said.

In the course of the conference, the Czechoslovak delegation head met for a bilateral talk with Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. They briefed one another on the implementation of restructuring in their countries, exchanged experiences from the CPCZ's and the CPSU's ideological work, and discussed further forms of interaction in this sphere.

They stressed in unison that the communist parties are the forces which have inspired all current social transformations in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and that, at the same time, they represent the guarantee of the successful materialization of the process of restructuring. [passage omitted on Fojtik's interview for RUDE PRAVO and CTK on the Berlin conference covered by the referent item]

Friday evening, the CPCZ Central Committee delegation left Berlin for home.

Olteanu Meets Mittag

AU2209195789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1841 GMT 22 Sep 89

["Exchange of Messages of Salute Between Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] During an interview between the participants in the meeting of the secretaries on ideological affairs of the central committees of the communist and worker parties of a number of socialist countries and members of the Political Bureau, secretaries of the CC [Central Committee] of the SUPG [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], RCP representative to that meeting, conveyed Erich Honecker, general secretary of the CC of the SUPG, chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, a cordial salute and the best wishes of good health and successes in his activity at the head of the party and state, of prosperity and happiness for the people of the GDR on behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania.

Thanking, Guenter Mittag, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CC of the SUPG, requested, in his turn, that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed the best wishes of successes in his prodigious activity at head of the party and the state, and the Romanian people wishes of further outstanding achievements in the manysided development of Socialist Romania on behalf of Erich Honecker.

Barabas Addresses Conference

AU2809120589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Sep 89 p 8

["Excerpts" from speech by MSZMP Central Committee Secretary and Political Executive Committee member

Janos Barabas at a conference of ideological secretaries of the fraternal parties of socialist countries held in Berlin: "Differences of Interests Are No Longer State Secrets—Janos Barabas Addresses Conference of Ideological Secretaries of the Fraternal Parties in Berlin"]

[Text] When, in harmony with the joint position formulated at the latest meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, we stress that we are working out our party's strategy and tactics without any foreign interference, we also take into consideration that concepts that are quite correct under our own circumstances cannot be offered as an example to be followed by others. Others need no recipes or lecturing either. Therefore, we avoid even the appearance of such intentions. Our domestic changes are not directed against any other country. It is by no means our interest to use the historical ties that connect us with the neighboring peoples as a tearing test.

We would also like to avoid becoming prisoners of a new type of one-sidedness to replace the old one. Therefore, we keep our eyes open in observing the experience of others and the attempts of the fraternal parties to handle the problems, and we try to draw the conclusions that can be useful for us.

A New Solidarity Concept

We must regard the existence of current and future differences of interests and arguments between us as natural. It is also natural that each of us would like to solve these differences in accordance with his own interests. I will add that we also find nothing exceptionable about the fact that these differences of interests are no longer state secrets and that they also appear in mass media reports. We agree with the concept and practice of several of our fraternal parties that, by accepting this new situation, they do not want to use interparty or interstate channels to deal with reports that appear in other countries' press, reports that might hurt their political concepts or their tastes, but, if necessary, they choose to conduct an open debate.

In our view, all this together will bring us closer to a new and up-to-date understanding and practice of international solidarity.

As a dramatic manifestation of the party members' will, the national party conference held in May 1988 radically changed the party leadership and instructed the new leadership to carry out changes based on a radical reevaluation of the party's role in society.

Although such a sudden emergence of a demand for renewal was indeed surprising, this took place as an organic continuation of long preceding events. Forces that represent national interests and endeavor to create a democratic socialism have always been present in the party since 1945. It is true that they have repeatedly suffered tragic defeat (like in 1948 and in 1956) or were forced into the background (like in 1972-1973), but they always reemerged and urged the party to change its image and follow the original humane and man-oriented Marxist ideas. Their honest intentions were blocked either by unfriendly international conditions or the local dogmatic leaders cramped by the fear of losing power, or even by the obstacles jointly built by opposing domestic and foreign trends.

This is how the increasingly dilapidated building of a party-state guided by a state party could survive up to the recent times. The gradual decrease in the ability of the economy to function and the collapse of the binding materials meant to hold the elements together, and the collapse of the efficient community of citizens were the main causes leading to the dilapidated state of this building.

The majority of our party members think—and the evaluation of the most authoritative figures of our Soviet fraternal party confirms their belief—that the political model that emerged in the Soviet Union in the thirties has become so obsolete in Hungary and is being rejected by the people to such an extent that maintaining this model—something almost impossible even by force—would totally discredit the socialist idea and would also totally change our regime.

On A Multiparty System

The recognition of this fact forced us to act quickly and get rid of the idea of a missionary-like awareness of an omniscient and omnipotent party, in fact an idea of a religious character based on blind faith, and of the fiction of a so-called planned economy guided from a single center. Confronted by increasing difficulties, we will not retreat to ideological bunkers built long ago, but we will look ahead and try to advance in the forefront of inevitable social processes. Therefore, we firmly claim that democracy, a constitutional state, respect for a manufacturing market economy that functions according to the laws discovered by Marx, and respect for varied forms of ownership, encouraging the desire for ventures, the freedom of conscience and religion, and the self-governing autonomy of natural communities of people are no longer tactical compromises for us, but goals that have become our strategy. All those who call this advance regression—and there are still such forces in our party—demonstrate their own value and their knowledge of reality in the eyes of the people.

I must here deal in short with the development that has probably alarmed some of our fraternal parties the most: the reappearance of the multiparty system in Hungary. I must again say that the reemergence of a multiparty system has not been a goal of our party. The creation of an efficient social control over the power has become an absolutely inevitable task for us. We saw that uncontrolled power was leading to rampant bureaucracy, corruption, the waste of resources on a social level, voluntarism [voluntarizmus], counter-selection [kontraszelekcio], and to the defenselessness of our citizens. All this leads to the people's dissatisfaction or apathy, and this will shake the party's own foundations.

We have no illusions, and we are well aware of the weaknesses of multiparty political systems, weaknesses that are often similar to ours. Still, we think that nobody knows a better form of efficient and capable social control today, and so far, history has not come up with a better solution, although this form is far from being perfect.

The new competitive situation which we have also accepted is setting new demands to the party. From a power center and a wide conglomerate body, the party must transform into a modern political party which competes with other parties in a constitutional framework and accepts the people's will reflected in the results of legal elections. It naturally endeavors to have a decisive governing influence, but it will accept neither force nor political tricks to achieve this.

Our party continues to be convinced that we can implement our national interests only by rationally taking into consideration the international realities and by respecting Hungary's international obligations. We believe in the idea of national sovereignty, but we do not believe in the possibility of a domestic development isolated from all directions of the outside world.

Therefore, we are following the events of the Soviet reform policy with particular attention. The success of the radical social and economic reforms known under the name restructuring is decisive for us too.

It is important to stress here too that there is no authoritative force or grouping in our domestic political arena which fails to consider European realities, or questions the status quo that guarantees the security of Europe, or questions the valid state borders in Europe today.

On Human Rights

However, we want to respect these borders as connecting lines, and not as lines separating countries. Recognizing our mutual interdependence, we are seeking opportunities of cooperation and multilateral and mutual contacts in the spirit of the new political thinking, and we are for a competition of ideas on the arena of political competition. It is precisely our peaceful intention and our respect toward human dignity that prompts us to continue to call for human rights and particularly for the practical implementation of the rights of national minorities who are more defenseless everywhere and always. The MSZMP is also carrying the burden of the debt our country has accumulated in this respect, and, in collaboration with other progressive forces in the country, the MSZMP continues its efforts to redeem this debt.

We must develop the nature of our conferences in a fresh spirit in the changing relations between our renewing parties.

Trade Union Representatives Meet in Prague

AU2809163289 Prague PRACE in Czech 23 Sep 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Deliberations of Representatives of Trade Union Centers"]

[Text] Prague—A consultation of representatives of trade union centers of the European socialist countries responsible for international relations was held in Prague on 21-22 September 1989. It was attended by representatives of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, the Free German Trade Union Federation, the Polish National Trade Union Confederation, the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions, and the CSSR's Central Trade Union Council [URO]. Miroslav Zavadil, member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and URO chairman, met with the participants in the consultation during their stay in Prague. A part of the program was attended by WFTU General Secretary Ibrahim Zakharia, who spoke about the 42d session of the WFTU General Council, which will be held in Prague in November. The representatives of the European socialist countries briefed one another on the development of their trade union organizations and addressed some issues connected with the activation of the work of their trade union centers in the WFTU in connection with the preparations for the 12th World Trade Union Congress.

Foreign Ministries' 'Working' Meeting Reported

AU2009163189 Sofia BTA in English 1608 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—On September 19 and 20 this year a working meeting was held between representatives of the Foreign Affairs Ministries of the Warsaw Treaty member countries. Information was exchanged concerning the basic trends of nowadays and topical issues of the development of the integration processes in Europe.

The participants in the meeting were received by Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy foreign affairs minister of Bulgaria.

CSSR Minister Views Havana CEMA Meeting

AU2709130989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Sep 89 p 4

[CTK Havana dispatch: "Raising Efficiency"]

[Text] Havana (CTK correspondent)—The first meeting of leading representatives of CEMA member countries' state bodies in charge of labor and social affairs ended in Havana on Friday [22 September] with the signing of a final protocol. The Czechoslovak delegation was headed by Miloslav Boda, CSSR minister of labor and social affairs. In an interview with the CTK correspondent, he described as the main feature of the 4-day talks the effort to raise the efficiency of cooperation among CEMA

member countries in the area concerned. The talks concerned the state and prospects of activity in the sphere of labor and social affairs in CEMA countries, the problem of complete and effective employment in the conditions of the intensification of the economy, the orientation of further cooperation between CEMA countries in the sphere of labor and social affairs, and other issues. The final protocol notes the usefulness of the exchange of views on these questions. According to the final protocol, the session also approved the program of CEMA countries' activity in the International Labor Office.

Agreements on Scientific Cooperation Reached

AU2709004489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Excellent Results in Development of Scientific Instruments"]

[Text] The "Naucpribor [as published] CEMA 89" exhibition, which displayed 300 excellent scientific feats from seven socialist countries, ended on Wednesday [20 September]. Both the exhibition and the conference on the construction of scientific instruments, which took place in the congress hall at Berlin's Alexander Square, offered numerous opportunities to improve cooperation in this field within the framework of CEMA, said Norbert Langhoff, director of the GDR Academy of Science's Scientific Instrument Development Center, said. He noted that, as far as the GDR was concerned, "Naucpribor CEMA 89" had been an overall success. This applies both to the scientific content of the conference and to the agreements and treaties that were concluded. These include, among others, agreements between the GDR Academy and Polish and Soviet partners, as well as talks on further cooperation with experts from the PRC.

Solidarity Paper on Riga International Conference

AU2508161989 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Aug 89 p 7

[Article signed 'mt': "Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia—From Self-Determination to Independence"]

[Text] "The United States has never recognised the annexation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by the Soviet Union in 1940" stated U.S. Senator Robert Kasten at the International Conference on the Right of Nations to Self-Determination.

The opening session of the conference in the Latvian capital of Riga was attended by delegates from the Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia, as well as from the Baltic republics. The theme of the conference is an examination of the possibilities for the independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

As had been previously stated by Janis Freimanis, the chairman of the Latvian People's Front, the Front at its coming October session plans to pass a resolution stating that its aim is the independence of Latvia. In its current program there was hitherto only talk of self-determination. "We are anticipating that our congress will adopt this change" stated Freimanis.

On Tuesday [22 Aug] there were preparations in the capital cities of the Baltic republics for the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact.

An organization called "Young Lithuania" picketed the square in front of Saint Stanislaw's Cathedral in Vilnius. The demonstrators held up banners proclaiming: 'Red Army Go Home' and 'There can be no free Europe without a free Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.' The representatives declared a hunger strike for the 23 August.

Lithuanian organizations forwarded an open letter to the UN secretary general, in which they demand free elections in Lithuania under the supervision of a special international commission. Signatures are being collected to be appended to the letter which has been written in Lithuanian, Polish, and Russian.

Maps of the three Baltic republics have been distributed on the streets of Riga, on which is drawn the route of the 600 km "living chain" which Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians will form at 1900 hours on 23 August linking the three Baltic republic capital cities for 15 minutes.

CEMA Bureau for Coal Mining Opens Session

AU2209112989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] The second session of the CEMA Bureau for Coal Mining opened in Horni Becva in Vsetin District on Tuesday [19 September], in the presence of coal industry representatives from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union, as well as observers from Yugoslavia. The session deals with questions of increasing the efficiency of coal mining, with the development and production of new technologies and technical devices for coal mining at great depths and in complicated mining-geological conditions, and with the technology of coal treatment and briquetting.

Pact Defense Ministers To Meet in November

LD0709213589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] A conference of defense ministers of Warsaw Pact member states will be held at the beginning of November in Budapest.

Baker-Shevardnadze Wyoming Meeting Discussed

AU2709163489 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Sep 89 p 4

[Lulzim Cota article: "Ritual Baker-Shevardnadze Meetings"]

[Text] The Soviet foreign minister, Shevardnadze, has made an official visit to Washington, where he met President Bush, to whom he handed a message from Gorbachev. Later, on Friday and Saturday, Shevardnadze had talks with his colleague Baker in Wyoming. The agenda of the talks included many problems ranging from disarmament, regional conflicts, and bilateral and East-West relations, to deciding on a Bush-Gorbachev summit meeting.

Among the many topics discussed and the interviews that were given Shevardnadze's remarks about the time at which these talks took place are particularly striking. On his arrival, he underlined that "We have come to Washington at an important period in United States-Soviet relations. It is a time when Soviet society is being transformed and when many aspects of East-West relations are changing." Put more simply, the mutual support and concessions in certain issues were a leitmotiv of the talks. The Soviet Union, at this moment of internal crisis, requires a "success" abroad, and particularly expects it to come from their American partners. On the eve of the talks, the United States secretary of state, Baker, reported that "The United States will surrender its demand for the elimination of Soviet mobile intercontinental missiles at the START talks." Moscow called this a "very welcome change," while at the same time the United States' concession was made "on the condition that Congress approves the financing of MX and Midgetman missile systems." It is paradoxical that these reciprocal concessions, which intensify the arms race in the field of intercontinental missiles, can be made at a time when the reduction of these very kinds of missile are at the center of the Baker-Shevardnadze talks.

Another problem discussed at the official Baker-Shevardnadze talks was the preparation of conditions for a Bush-Gorbachev summit meeting. The two sides were united regarding the necessity of such a meeting. "A summit meeting is necessary; there is no doubt about that," stressed Shevardnadze after his meeting with Bush. However, he added, "This summit must be prepared as well as possible."

Apart from this euphoric tone, even if an agreement is reached, no illusions can be entertained that Soviet-American treaties help to strengthen international security.

Bush, Shevardnadze Cited on Chemical Weapons

AU2709201689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] In a speech delivered the other day at the UN General Assembly, U.S. President Bush proposed to the Soviet Union a bilateral agreement to destroy 80 percent of their stocks of chemical weapons. He considered this to be a first step in the direction of an international ban of chemical weapons. Stressing that the world had been for a long time under the threat of chemical warfare, he called for Washington and Moscow to begin to cooperate immediately in order to, as he stated, free the world from such weapons.

Meanwhile, in order not to lag behind the U.S. President's proposal, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, went even further in the speech that he delivered yesterday at the UN General Assembly. Even if an agreement is reached between the two imperialist superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, on these mass extermination weapons, although this may be advertized publicly as a move to secure peace and avoid war, in the final analysis this will be but another step in a bargain reached by the two superpowers to secure their world hegemony.

Albanian-FRG Culture Festival Reportage

FRG Officials Arrive

AU2709152689 Tirana ATA in English 1005 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Tirana, September 26 (ATA)—In the context of cultural exchanges between the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania and the FR of Germany, Helmut Schoefer, minister of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the FR of Germany, arrived in our country on September 26 to attend the opening of the activity "Week of Culture of the FR of Germany," organized in Tirana. He was accompanied by the president of Goethe Institute of the FR of Germany, Hans Heigbert; the director of culture at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lothar Wittman, and other personalities of culture, art, etc.

They were welcomed at the airport by Sokrat Plaka, foreign deputy minister; Capajev Gjokutaj, deputy chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts; officials of the Foreign Ministry, and other comrades.

Present was also Friedrich Kroneck, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FR of Germany to the PSR of Albania.

On September 26 the foreign deputy minister of the PSR of Albania Sokrat Plaka received at the Foreign Ministry the minister of state of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the FRG, Helmut Schoefer, with whom he had a friendly talk. In the course of the meeting they spoke on the positive development of relations between the two countries as well as on the intensification of cooperation in various fields of mutual interest between the PSR of Albania and the FR of Germany. Likewise, they exchanged views on some aspects of the international situation in Europe and broader as well as on the Balkan understanding and cooperation.

The meeting was also attended by Jorgo Melica, Chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries.

On September 26 afternoon, Alfred Uci, chairman of the Committee o Culture and Arts, received the minister of state at the Foreign Ministry of the FRG, Helmut Schoefer, and the personalities escorting him. In the course of reception there were appreciated the cultural exchanges between the two countries, and it was also spoken on their further development, something that serves the strengthening of relations and cooperation in the field of culture between our two peoples and countries.

These receptions were also attended by Friedrich Kroneck, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FR of Germany to the PSR of Albania.

'Week of FRG Culture' Begins

AU2709155089 Tirana ATA in English
1015 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Tirana, September 27 (ATA)—In the context of cultural exchanges between the PSR [Peoples Socialist Republic] of Albania and the FR of Germany, "The Week of Culture of the FR of Germany" opened in the Gallery of Figurative Arts in Tirana on September 26.

Attending the ceremony organized on the occasion were also Foto Cami, chairman of the Permanent Foreign Commission of the People's Assembly; Prof Sofokli Lazri, director of the International Relations Study Institute; Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries; and other comrades.

Attending were also Helmut Schoefer, minister of state at the Foreign Ministry of the FR of Germany; Hans Heigbert, president of the Goethe Institute of the FRG; Lothar Wittman, director of culture at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other personalities escorting him.

Present was also Friedrich Kroneck, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FRG to the PSR of Albania.

Prof Alfred Uci, chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts; and Helmut Schoefer, minister of state, greeted on the occasion. [sentence as received]

It is a special pleasure and honour for me, Prof Alfred Uci said among the other things, to take the floor at this ceremony that opens the "Week of Culture of the FRG," which is organized under the auspices of the foreign minister of the FR of Germany, Dr Hans Dietrich Genscher, and the minister of foreign affairs of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile. He voiced his conviction that the exhibition "Treasures From the Albanians' Soil" organized last year in Hildesheim and other scientific and cultural activities and "The Week of Culture of the FRG" in Albania will contribute to the further rapprochement and mutual acquaintance of our peoples. Further on he pointed out that the relations between our two countries have scored a good development and on this occasion he mentioned the fruitful contacts and visits of the delegations and personalities in the political, economic, scientific, and cultural fields, a series of agreements, among which the cultural agreement and the perspective program on cultural exchanges. They testify to the political desire and will of the two parties to promote the friendly cooperation and give to it a lively and concrete content. After laying the stress on the outstanding contribution of the German people to the world science and culture, Prof Alfred Uci thanked for the brilliant and noble work of all those who prepared the diversified activities of the week of culture of the FR of Germany in Albania, which will mark a new step in strengthening the sentiments of friendship between our two peoples and countries.

In his speech, the minister of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Helmut Schoefer, said among others that the week of culture of the FR of Germany in Albania affords me the opportunity to visit for the first time your country rich in traditions. He conveyed the cordial greetings of the foreign minister of the FR of Germany, Dr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and his wishes for a successful continuation of these days, whose rich program will provide the opportunity to present a wide range of the culture of the FR of Germany. He expressed his belief that the week of culture of the FR of Germany in Albania will be followed by the week of the Albanian culture in the FR of Germany. We are now seeing to this week full of hopes he pointed out, because we retain satisfactory impressions of the grand exhibition "Treasures From the Land of the Albanians," which was opened in Hildesheim last year. The minister of state, Helmut Schoefer, stressed the need of the further development of the relations between the FR of Germany and the PSR of Albania, which we consider as part of a broad relations, that will bear the stamp of the common confidence and of the benefit of the cooperation for a long time. In conclusion he thanked for the cordial hospitality and for the good cooperation during the preparation of the cultural week.

Then the participants visited with interest the exhibitions with the creations by the painter Horst Jansen, known in the FR of Germany and beyond it, with the original caricatures on the chess play by the lithographer Paul Weber, as well as the exhibition of the chess pawns which attracts both the amateurs of art and those of chess.

On September 26 evening, the known group of the FRG "Konsortium Klasikum" gave a concert at the Opera and Ballet Theater.

Attending were also Skender Gjinushi, minister of education; Sokrat Plaka, foreign deputy minister; Feim Ibrahimi, secretary of the Writers and Artists League, and others.

Present was also the delegation of the foreign ministry of the FR of Germany, headed by Helmut Schoefer, minister of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Present was also Friedrich Kroneck, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FR of Germany in Tirana.

The participants followed with interest and applauded the artists from the FRG, who executed musical pieces by classic authors.

In the end, the artists of the FR of Germany were presented with a basket of flowers.

On occasion of the opening of the week of culture of the FR of Germany and in honour of the minister of state at the foreign ministry, Helmut Schoefer, and the personalities escorting him, Prof Alfred Uci, chairman of the Committee of Culture and Arts, gave a dinner on September 26.

Attending were Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers; Skender Gjinushi, minister of education; Sokrat Plaka, foreign deputy minister; Prof Sofokli Lazri, director of the International Relations Study Institute; Jorgo Melica, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries; and other comrades.

The dinner passed in a friendly atmosphere.

FRG's Schoefer at Hoxha's Grave

AU2809091889 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Tirana, September 28 (ATA)—The minister of state at the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Schoefer, paid homage to the martyrs' graves of the nation and to the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha on September 27 before noon. He placed a wreath at the monument "Mother Albania" and a bouquet of flowers on the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Attending this ceremony were also the secretary of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, Zymber Sinani; the commander of the Garrison of Tirana, Eduard Shehu; and the chairman of the Protocol Branch at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kostaq Cifligu.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FR of Germany in Tirana, Friedrich Kroneck.

Received by Gjyzari, Visits Durres

AU2809092489 Tirana ATA in English
0735 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Tirana, September 28 (ATA)—The chairman of the State Planning Commission, Niko Gjyzari, received on September 27 the minister of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Schoefer, and had a friendly talk with him. During the reception opinions were exchanged on the economic, trade, technical, and scientific cooperation between the two countries as well as on the possibility existing for their further development in the future.

The delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany headed by the minister of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Schoefer, visited the National Historic Museum in the capital on September 27, where he was acquainted with the history of our people in centuries, with their antifascist National Liberation War and the self-denying work for the socialist construction of the country. In the museum's impressions book, Helmut Schoefer wrote among others: "We are impressed from the visit in this wonderful museum."

Then he went to Durres city, where he visited the archaeological museum and the amphitheater. There he got acquainted with various archaeological materials founds in the city of Durres, with the development of the material, spiritual culture represented through numerous objects.

In honour of the minister of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Schoefer, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of Durres District, Luan Babameto, gave a dinner in the Adriatik Hotel, which passed in a friendly atmosphere.

Besides, the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany led by Helmut Schoefer went to the "Myslim Peza" agricultural cooperative of Peze where he was welcomed by the chairman of his cooperative, Nezir Gorica. There they visited the museum house where the National Liberation Conference was convened and in families of cooperativists.

The delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany was accompanied in these visits by the director at the Press Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vangjush Zallemi.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic of Germany to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Friedrich Kroneck.

Foreign Trade Minister Leaves for Bulgaria

AU2809125689 Tirana ATA in English
1020 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Tirana, September 28 (ATA)—The minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, left for Bulgaria on September 27 to take part in the Fair of Plovdiv.

Health Ministry Checks Returnees From Turkey

AU2709203089 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 27 Sep 89

["Epidemic Prevention Announcement of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 27 (BTA)—Many citizens are contacting for information the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare concerning the medical measures regarding the Bulgarian citizens who are returning from Turkey. This is caused by the mass media's constant announcements about epidemic spreading of diarrhetic diseases, including cholera and abdominal typhus, in that country. The Turkish MILLIYET newspaper in its issue from September 9 writes that there are 10 cases of cholera in Adana. The same paper from September 10 cites Mr Sivgin, minister of health: "There are cases of gastro-intestinal diseases and typhus. I cannot say that there are no cases of cholera." An article in TURKISH DAILY NEWS from September 11, this year, named "Diarrhoea Kills, Official Representatives Deny the Existence of Cholera", writes that only in the province of Gaziantep in southeastern Turkey 39 people, of which 30 were babies, have died of cholera in the past 37 days and that there are cases of cholera in other regions of the country. According to the same paper Minister Sivgin denies the existence of cholera diseases.

Irrespective of the information received by the World Health Organization that Turkey has not reported cholera cases, the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare ordered the necessary measures for not admitting and spreading of intestinal infectious diseases from the Bulgarian citizens returning from Turkey. This was also due to the poor sanitary conditions under which they were put and the requirements for medical and sanitary protection in Bulgaria.

At the Kapitan Andreevo and Malko Turnovo border checkpoints at the Bulgaro-Turkish border some extra health care stations are opened where the returning Bulgarian citizens are examined for lice and tested for cholera. First aid teams are provided.

These measures are applied to the Bulgarian citizens coming from other countries, too, irrespective of the reason for their visits there.

The Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare will do what is necessary to establish interaction with the competent Turkish health authorities for discussing the existing situation and adopting joint prophylactic measures against intestinal infectious diseases.

Zhivkov Meets GDR Ambassador at Plovdiv Fai

AU2709220089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Sep 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Todor Zhivkov: Tribute to GDR at Plovdiv Fair"]

[Text] Sofia (ADN)—On Monday [25 September] the 45th International Technical Fall Fair in Plovdiv was ceremoniously opened by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. During his walkabout at the fair, the Bulgarian head of state visited the GDR exhibition. GDR Ambassador Egon Rommel conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were returned in an equally cordial way. Todor Zhivkov affirmed Bulgaria's unswerving solidarity with the GDR in warding off the FRG's slander campaign.

The GDR head of state paid tribute to the GDR exhibition and the development and specialization of cooperation between combines and enterprises of the two countries.

The GDR exhibits at the Plovdiv fair focus on products of the sectors of electrotechnology, electronics, heavy machinery, plant construction, and the textile machine industry.

Under the slogan of "Technical Progress and Economic Cooperation," exhibitors from 28 countries are participating in the Plovdiv fair.

Zhivkov Visits Romanian Stand

AU2509200389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1903 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, AGERPRES, 25/9/1989—At the 45th International Technical Fair in Plovdiv, which opened on 25 September, Romania participates with a pavilion displaying products of the machine building and electrical engineering industries, mainly motor vehicles, machine-tools, textile equipment, computer technology, products of the chemical and petrochemical industries, just as of other industrial sectors.

On the opening of the fair, the Romanian pavilion was visited by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the CC (Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, who was appreciative of the exhibits, pointing to the modern design of the products on display.

Contracts With SFRY, USSR Signed

AU2709185589 Sofia BTA in English 1811 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Plovdiv, September 27 (BTA)—A contract was signed at the International Technological Fair on the incorporation of a joint Bulgaro-Yugoslav limited liability company called HMT Engineering. Basically, it will seek to extend cooperation through joint engineering of whole installations and projects for the needs of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and third countries on the basis of

the existing specialization in the food and the chemical industries, environmental protection, anticorrison metal protection. The company will carry out joint investment projects and, when necessary, will form consortia with other companies and banks in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and other countries. There are plans for the export of bottling lines, tobacco processing installations, food and chemical industry accessories, for participation in the construction and modernization of chemical plants, joint construction of whole food industry projects in third countries. The company's annual turnover is expected to exceed 20 million foreign currency leva.

Belok, a Bulgaro-Soviet limited liability company, was established under another contract. The Soviet partners will supply the equipment and Bulgaria will provide the construction plot. When completed, the facility will be producing a wide range of bioactivity products used in medicine, agriculture and the food industry. The first installation will be built in the village of Starosel, Plovdiv Region, between 1990 and 1991. Investment amounts to nearly 11 million leva. Annually, the ecologically sound plant will be recycling 16,000 tons of bioresource waste and will be producing industrial output worth 8 million leva.

The largest deal at the fair so far was made today: a computer equipment export contract involving over 1,000 million foreign currency leva between the Bulgarian Izotimpeks Foreign Trade Company and the Soviet Trade Associations Elektronorgtekhnika and Radioeksport.

Another contract to the overall value of 18 million foreign currency leva was signed between the Bulgarian Trade Corporation Transimpeks and the Soviet Tekhnoeksport on the delivery of underground railway carriages for the first stage of the Sofia underground railway system. The first 16 carriages will be delivered to Sofia by the end of the year.

Cooperation Talks Held With Macedonia

AU2609194889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Sep 89 p 6

[Text] Sofia, 20 September—The desire to further activate the economic and trading cooperation between Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Macedonia was the motive for the roundtable meeting of business circles held here today. It was stressed that the meeting, organized within the framework of the representative exhibition of the economy of this Yugoslav republic in Sofia, had the aim not only of helping the partners to get to know one another better but also of elucidating the problems that are holding up the joint work. A number of positive examples were given of mutually beneficial partnership, and these represent only the beginning of the expected stimulation of cooperation and its enrichment with new forms of economic interaction. Prominent among these is the general agreement on coordinating investments and production programs between companies of the "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry" Association and the OHIS [chemical products] company in Skopje. Projects are planned for joint investment activity, construction of production capacities, entering third-country markets, equipping mixed enterprises, and setting up consortia.

In addition, general framework agreements were concluded between the "Farmakhim" and "Perfumery and Cosmetics" Companies and the "Farmacija" and "Javor" Companies in Bitola to set up a joint enteprise to produce a variety of perfumery, cosmetic, and pharmaceutical products for the needs of the two countries and for export to third country markets. There has also been a rise in the goods exchange, which last year increased by almost 54.5 percent over the figure for the preceding year.

At the same time, the common view was expressed that, irrespective of the good economic, geographical, and political conditions, cooperation in the economic field has still not reached the appropriate level, and that these conditions are still not being used effectively enough to create long-term integration processes. In this connection, the signing is being awaited with great interest of the agreement on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia for the 1991-95 period, and the agreements on mutual aid in investments and avoiding double taxation, as well as the documents on setting up and jointly administering the duty-free customs zones.

As the Bulgarian side pointed out, our legal system has created favorable conditions for investments and for utilizing such forms of cooperation as setting up joint enterprises and consortia, licensing activities, and work in the border zones. There are good prospects in this direction in the chemical, pharmaceutical, metallurgical, and light industries, as well as for machine building, electronics, agriculture, and the food industry. During the discussions specific proposals were made on establishing direct links between enterprises and companies in both countries and on expanding and establishing new fields of cooperation..

Later in the day, talks continued between the individual partners.

Barriers to Private Business Development Viewed

AU2709210689 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 39 25 Sep 89 pp 1,4

[Article by Georgi Lazarov: "Barriers Along the Road to the Market"]

[Excerpts] A middle-aged married man (or woman), with one or two children, well educated, respected in his profession (which does not necessarily have to be practiced under Decree No. 35), who owns a small house, but no car or villa, voluntarily undertook to work 4 or 5 extra hours a day. This is the simple picture.

What is said against him? This time, let each one of us sketch for himself the portrait of the person whose actual retorts, noted in the course of a journalistic investigation, I will quote below: "How come that they should earn more than others?" "Why do they work more? No one forces them, we do have a labor code." "They are robbing people" (without explaining how). "Everyone should receive the same!" (begging the question whether everyone works the same). "They do not form part of socialism" (with no explanation of what socialism is). If we think a little, we will discover that "the other side" is also among us, and even partially, if not entirely, within ourselves.

Let us therefore pass on from this portrait of the dramatis persona to the portrait of the phenomenon itself.

It all started in June 1987, when the Regulations on Collective and Individual Labor Activity by Citizens for the Additional Production of Goods and Services were adopted by Council of Ministers' Decree No. 35. [passage omitted] It is true that the conservativism of civil servants and officials at all levels of our institutions has already become proverbial, but all the same, might not something else be concealed here? Such as, for example, the consciously felt and real fear that the truth might come to light that a number of posts and institutions are unnecessary, if not in their entirety, at least in their existing form and numbers of staff. Over the past 20 years the numbers of government and other officials have almost doubled. Activities under Decree No. 35 are mainly developing within the individual municipalities, in order to meet their own needs, and from where the said activities can most easily be assisted, directed, and controlled. Unfortunately, in practice the first is done very rarely, the second even more seldom, while the third is most often carried out in the wrong way.

Nonetheless, here are a few figures. During the first 4 months of this year the numbers of persons working under Decree No. 35 more than doubled. Within the network of the Central Cooperative Union alone, where the data can best be systematically gathered and analyzed, more than 20,000 people are working under the terms of the decree. The number of family companies throughout the country rose from 99 in 1988 to 472 at the beginning of this year, and increasing numbers of people are registering their activities with the various municipalities....

The question then remains why, despite the proven benefit, things are not progressing as they should under Decree No. 35, so that there are instances of people losing faith and giving up. The answer is that this is because of the following problems, in the solution of which, with a few exceptions, we have not advanced from the point we were at 2 years ago:

—Difficulties with raw materials. These are either completely lacking or found only with great trouble, being obtained either from the stores at retail prices, with the addition of bribes, or in certain underhand ways, which in the end inevitably lead to ... the courtroom. [passage omitted]

—The market for ready goods. Where and how in practice can private entrepreneurs (including those employed in one-man and collective citizens' companies) market their products? On street barrows (which explains the abundance of flower and peanut sellers), at cooperative markets (haberdashery, costume jewelry, and knitwear of dubious origin), and through a small number of official negotiating procedures recently organized in Sofia. Will POGLED's repeated reminders of the need for marketplaces for enterprising people with initiative produce any result?

—The meager material base: lack of premises, machinery, and equipment, as well as of any possibility to acquire them. It is no accident that activities under the decree are most developed in the fields of public catering (using the material base already available), taxi services (using privately owned cars), planning and consultancy services (where little is needed apart from "gray matter"), and street trading.

—Incongruities in price setting. These occur in both directions: on the one hand, incredibly inflated prices, including unbelievable "overheads" in some cases, and on the other, price tariffs dating from almost 50 years ago, especially in the services sphere, under which "earnings are enough to pay for bread, but not for jam." [passage omitted]

Johanes Meets With Secretary Baker at UN

LD2809091589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] The United Nations Organization—Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Jaromir Johanes, who is attending the UN General Assembly session, met with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in New York yesterday. The two statesmen paid attention primarily to the development of bilateral relations the standard of which does not correspond to the possibilities of the two countries. They examined prospects for the further development of a dialogue and of mutually advantageous cooperation.

Jaromir Johanes put forward some specific proposals to activate relations, above all, in the economy, science and technology, and in culture. He proposed that a treaty shoudl be concluded on trade and economic cooperation in the framework of which U.S. discriminatory measures against Czechoslovakia should be removed.

James Baker welcomed the opportunity for an exchange of views at a time when changes are taking place in Central and Eastern Europe. He paid special attention to problems of human rights and humanitarian cooperation and expressed the United States' interest in cooperation in protection of the environment and in the struggle against terrorism.

Jaromir Johanes described the talks with James Baker as businesslike and useful, and stated that despite difference of views the talks were characterized by an interest in the search to find solutions to existing problems.

Meets With Shevardnadze

LD2809023789 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Here is yet another report from New York, where the 44th session of the UN General Assembly is taking place, according to which there was a meeting today between Eduard Shevardnadze and Jaromir Johanes, the Soviet and Czechoslovak foreign ministers.

They expressed satisfaction with the state and development of mutual relations and at the same time pointed to the unavoidability of creative search for new spheres and forms of cooperation, not only on bilateral basis, but also within the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty.

Sees Mock, Rao in NY

LD2809021689 Prague CTK in English 2058 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] New York Sept 27 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes met here today in the framework of the 44th U.N. General Assembly session Austrian Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock.

The two ministers discussed in detail the present state of Czechoslovak-Austrian relations in all spheres and their prospects and both of them agreed that mutual cooperation has been developing favourably. They expressed the conviction that it is necessary to pursue the dialogue on high political level.

The two ministers stated that they expect the Vienna talks on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals to be constructively influenced by the results of the recent talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. representatives, which should also favourably influence the over-all international atmosphere and the activity of the 44th U.N. General Assembly session.

Speaking of Austria's request for admission into the European Economic Community, Jaromir Johanes said that the Czechoslovak side considers this request in the light of Austrian neutrality, an important part of the security and stability on the European Continent, and also in the light of integration processes in Western Europe, in which also alarming military elements appear.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister also met his Indian counterpart Narasimha Rao. The two ministers voiced satisfaction with the present development of mutual relations in all spheres. They stated that possibilities of their intensification exist mainly in the sphere of economic cooperation and trade exchange.

Greets More Counterparts

LD2809223389 Prague CTK in English 2115 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] New York, Sept 28 [CTK correspondent]—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes met here today his Dutch counterpart Hans Van Den Broek and Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jenson in the course of the 44th U.N. General Assembly session.

Evaluating the present situation in the world, the minister approved the results of the talks between Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. representatives, which already have positive effect on the work of the 44th U.N. General Assembly session and should give further impulses to the Vienna talks on conventional disarmament in Europe under way. The ministers also discussed prospects for a ban on chemical weapons and their elimination in the light of proposals submitted at the general assembly by the Soviet Union and the United States.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister also informed his partners of the present state of work on the Czechoslovak proposal to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the borderline between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

The Czecholsovak foreign minister informed his counterparts from the Netherlands and Denmark of the restructuring and democratization in all spheres of life of the Czechoslovak society and characterized economic

and political reforms the aim of which is to make full use of the potential of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

Jaromir Johanes met today also Foreign Ministers of Mexico and Costa Rica Francisco Solanan and Rodrigo Madrigal.

'Emigration Wave' From GDR Continues To Grow

Hungarian Solution 'Out of Question'

AU2809132489 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi report]

[Excerpts] The CSSR will do nothing to restrict the unhindered access of GDR refugees to the FRG Embassy or to impede the supplies to the refugees. Government spokesman Miroslav Pavel has just told us this and added that the CSSR is even prepared to help supplying them. At present, negotiations between the CSSR and the FRG Red Cross organizations are taking place. However, a Hungarian style solution is still out of question, Pavel said. [passage omitted]

The latest rumor in Prague is that Prague might be forced to introduce compulsory visas for GDR citizens if the influx of refugees to the embassy continues.

2,000 Refugees at FRG Embassy

LD2809201189 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] A press conference was held today, at which representatives of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs briefed newsmen on topical questions of international development. Lubos Marsik deputy director of the Press Department, gave data on, among other things, the situation of GDR nationals who have taken refuge at the West German Embassy in Prague.

[Correspondent] According to the latest data, the number of GDR nationals here is close on 2,000. Intensive talks and consultations are underway to resolve this complex situation. The representative of our [Foreign] Ministry has stated that the FRG Embassy has still not asked our authorities to provide protection for its buildings, and this therefore means that access to the Embassy is virtually unrestricted. Our official standpoint remains unchanged: This is a problem between two sovereign states which those two states must resolve between themselves. The Czechoslovak side is providing medical aid and is prepared, if so requested, for even broader humanitarian cooperation in order to resolve this problem. The Foreign Ministry representative stated that the current situation is a result of the attitudes of political circles in the FRG and some of the media there, and he recalled that the GDR has guaranteed a positive solution in terms of greater flexibility in processing applications for emigration. Thanks to the visit by Dr Vogel from the GDR, more than 200 East Germans returned home on Tuesday, and there are real prospects that in the very near future a fundamental breakthrough will occur in the situation, the Foreign Ministry representative stated at today's press conference.

Situation 'Critical' at Embassy

AU2809142989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 89 p 2

["mik"-signed report: "FRG Embassy—Critical Situation"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)—The number of GDR citizens in the West German Embassy in Prague has again markedly increased in the past few days. According to West German sources of information, the number of GDR citizens staying there exceeded 1,100 Tuesday [26 September] morning. Securing food supplies and accommodations for these people is becoming ever more difficult for the FRG representative mission. On Sunday [24 September], the field kitchen of the FRG Red Cross assumed care of them. Additional heated tents and portable lavatories have been put up there.

GDR lawyer Wolfgang Vogel arrived at the FRG Embassy in Prague on Tuesday. The same day State Secretaries Juergen Sudhoff and Walter Priesnitz and Franz Bertele, head of the permanent mission of the FRG in Berlin, arrived there from Bonn.

A week ago in Prague, Vogel convinced 310 GDR citizens to return home.

In this connection the irresponsible attitude of some FRG mass media stands out all the more. They continue their emotional campaign aimed at increasing the emigration of GDR citizens. As the Czechoslovak side has repeatedly stressed, the presence of GDR citizens in the FRG Embassy compound in Prague prevents the normal operation of this diplomatic mission. This situation can be solved only on the basis of bilateral negotiations between the GDR and the FRG. It is an unprecedented phenomenon in the relations between two sovereign states that the GDR citizens are being provided with FRG passports.

Bratislava Blames FRG

LD2909083589 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] As we already reported in our bulletins, the emigration wave of GDR citizens across our territory continues. The number of visitors in the FRG Embassy compound in Prague is growing and they are refusing to leave here unless they are able to depart for the FRG. There are already more than 2,000 of them. The number of similar tourists-visitors—in quote marks—to the Bonn embassy in Warsaw is also growing.

Our state bodies are dealing with this situation on a permanent basis and are trying solve the problem in a spirit of humanitarian cooperation and fulfillment of

obligations which we concluded with the GDR. However, one cannot fail to mention the fact that in the FRG this emigration wave of GDR citizens is nourished by forces which have given prominence to the tackling of the so-called German question—which means the unification of the two German states. Jiri Halousek, our permanent correspondent, will speak about this in greater detail from Bonn:

[Halousek in Czech] The evening news of the two main West German tv channels carried lengthy report about the present situation in the FRG Embassy in Warsaw, where, according to the these reports there are 600 GDR citizens, in Warsaw, where, according to the these reports there are 600 GDR citizens, and in Prague where their number has allegedly reached 2,000. Local tv viewers could see for themselves the critical conditions in both embassies: there are no basic facilities, hundreds of people are living in rain and mud, the first diseases have allegedly occurred among children.

West German commentators and politicians admit the seriousness and the unsubstainability of this situation. They are carefully registering each step aimed at resolving it, but they are not willing to admit that it has, in fact, been brought about by their own stance—whether it is the publicly claimed theory about the so-called unified German citizenship, the origins of which lie in the beginning of the cold war, or the resumption of the discussion about the reunification of Germany. The atmosphere today here in the FRG is characterized by the fact that Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has become the latest target of the attacks by revanchist associations and by a number of politicians from the ruling CDU and CSU [Christian Democratic Union and Christian Socialist Union] parties. And the reason? At the UN General Assembly in New York he kept assuring the Polish representative that the Germans do not have and will not raise any terrritorial claims against his country.

CPSU Must Remain 'Unifier' of Society

AU2609152589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Sep 89 p 7

[Commentary by Moscow correspondent Vladimir Jancura: "Resolutely Means Consistently"]

[Text] The results of the session of the CPSU Central Committee were awaited with impatience by the whole country, one could even say by the whole world. On the evening of the day before yesterday, impatience reigned also in the press center at Zubovskiy Boulevard in Moscow where foreign journalists accredited in Moscow were supposed to receive fresh first-hand information. Yet at 2200, we were told that the session ended later than expected and that Vadim Medvedev had to leave immediately for the conference of ideological secretaries in Berlin. Fortunately, shortly thereafter TASS began to churn out the official documents and in the morning edition of Soviet PRAVDA we were able to read the first part of a relatively detailed account of the debate at the session. So far, fellow Soviet commentators have been in no hurry to come up with judgments of their own. First, the public must be given a chance to become familiar with at least the basic materials of the 2-day Central Committee meeting. This is also why yesterday's newspapers did not publish any readers' reactions to the session. The publication is being awaited of the CPSU Central Committee's amended platform "On the Nationality Policy of the Party Under Current Conditions." Everyone is anxious to know which of the numerous suggestions and comments raised in the course of the nationwide discussion which preceded the session are, in fact, reflected in this document.

However, even today it is possible to predict that the overwhelming majority of the Soviet public will respond to the conclusions of the session positively. Will someone be disenchanted? Certainly. This is particularly true of those forces on the fringes of the current political spectrum in the USSR which, by postulating all kinds of ultimatums, demand a "resolute" solution to not only actual but also fictitious problems of the Soviet federation; of those who do not find a single bright page in its almost 70-year-old chronicle; of those who demand that it be transformed into a confederation; and, finally, of those who interpret the right to self-determination merely as the right to secede from the union of Soviet republics.

Disappointed will be all those who assumed that the session would adopt "vigorous" measures to resolve immediately and finally the conflicting situations in the "epicenters of ethnic tensions," be it the Caucasus, the Baltic region, or Moldavia. This did not happen because in no civilized and democratic state is it possible to cut by the sword the knot of problems that are as sensitive as ethnic ones. They can only be carefully unraveled.

The session worked out something which is much more important—the theoretical and political ways out of the present truly very complicated situation in the sphere of interethnic relations. It is now up to legislative, government, and regional party bodies to work out and implement, based on this foundation, specific social, economic, legal, organizational, and other measures.

Incidentally, since we touched upon the topic of resoluteness. It was by no coincidence that Mikhail Gorbachev paid so much attention to this seemingly academic question in his closing speech. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee understands by this term, above all, consistency in implementing the priority tasks and aims of restructuring. On the plane of the party's political work, resoluteness then takes the shape of the ability of realization in translating the resolutions of party bodies and organizations into life. In the debate, the session's participants repeatedly stressed that this is perhaps the weakest element of their activity. This, too, is one of the reasons that the slogan of "Moving from words to deeds" is so relevant in the present extraordinarily difficult stage of restructuring. In

the present situation when various "informal" politicized movements and structures are very active and enterprising, everything, particularly the authority of the CPSU in the eyes of the people, depends on the degree to which one succeeds in mobilizing party committees and all communists. On the eve of elections to local bodies of state power this really is the most crucial issue of all.

The work of the apparatus of the party's Central Committee also came in for criticism at the session—for being late in analyzing and evaluating the political situation. This is why the Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee once again expressed their unequivocal standpoint on the issues under debate, such as th decentralization of the economy and democratization in the party. They said yes to the further perfection of the federal setup of the Soviet state but a definite no to the federalization of the CPSU. Given the planned delegation of many legal powers of the center in steering socioeconomic processes to the republics and other autonomous territorial entities, the CPSU must remain the unifier of all segments of society, of all parts of the huge country.

The regular 28th CPSU Congress will meet in a year's time. This decision is also likely to call forth diverse opinions. After all, groups of so-called left-wing radicals have been clamoring for an extraordinary congress and for its convening as soon as possible. Yet the renewal of the CPSU and of society as a whole can advance successfully only if carried out step by step, each of which must be prepared very thoroughly. One of these steps were also the cadre changes which occurred at this session of the CPSU Central Committee. All those who have reinforced the Politburo and the Central Committee are known to belong to the consistent advocates of the policy of gradual revolutionary changes, referred to as perestroyka all over the world.

Poland's Rakowski Prague Visit 'Fruitful'

AU2809205989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 89 p 2

[Dalibor Macha and Pavol Minarik commentary: "Constant Mutual Support"]

[Text] On Monday [25 September] we welcomed Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who has already been in his new post as first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee for several weeks, to Czechoslovakia for the first time. His visit, although it only lasted for a few hours, included extremely fruitful working talks with our most senior party and state representatives.

The Polish guest's reception in Prague was cordial and comradely and its main feature was to underline mutual solidarity in the qualitatively new situation which has arisen for Polish Communists since this year's elections, elections which ended with the PZPR losing its leading position in Polish society.

Just as relations between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and the PZPR and between Czechoslovakia and Poland are being established on both sides of our border, so this commentary is being written in Prague and in Warsaw. On Monday evening our Warsaw correspondent asked M. Rakowski—at Okecie Airport just after his return to Poland—to appraise the Prague talks: I have returned in the best frame of mind and with the knowledge that we have true friends on the southern side of our border, said the PZPR Central Committee first secretary. We briefed each other fully, but the information—first-hand information so to speak—which we gradually exchanged with Comrades Jakes, Husak, Adamec, and others is, after all, incomparably more valuable. At the same time, I would like to thank you because an interview that RUDE PRAVO published on the same day very favorably influenced my talks in Prague. This was perhaps the longest interview that I have ever given in my entire life....

However, it would be an oversimplification to claim that the meeting between the most senior party representatives was merely a briefing, embracing first and foremost the events on the Polish political scene. That would certainly have been very little. On the contrary, its substance went quite far forward, which also illustrates the generally accepted point of view that both parties will continue to play an initiative role in Czechoslovak-Polish relations. In this way, we are confirming our solidarity with the Polish Communists, the promulgators of social reform, in their attempts to regain their authority and corresponding position in society.

This also means that, undoubtedly more than ever before, we will make use of our widespread contacts and mutual support at various levels. However, this will not only involve the integrity but, first and foremost, the dynamism of the friendly ties between both the parties and the people of our states. After all, everything that brings our parties closer together also brings our societies closer together. In this sense, we also evaluate the visit made by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee—a party that is still numerically the largest, with more than 2 million members—as a journey made by a representative of People's Poland. The unchanging nature of our relations toward Poland—our ally and neighbor—was also conveyed to him, relations for which the decisive criterion will be mutually advantageous cooperation. The equation is simple. We support everything that is good for both of us.

In Poland the PZPR is our closest ideological ally and we will not find a better one. This is an unalterable fact. Therefore, we are also following with interest the internal party discussion on the shape and model of its future structure—which is supposed to arise out of the 11th PZPR Congress that is now under preparation. According to M. Rakowski, this speeded up congress will perhaps be this party's last congress, because the new political formation will apparently adopt a new name. This is connected with a broader view of the entire Polish left wing. As is known,

since January of this year, when it set out upon a compromise road of political and trade union pluralism, the current party has experienced an accelerated and sometimes chaotic development, which has affected the whole of society. Daily answers to the many questions concerning the future of the party and the country are being sought. Its members are asking where and how far the party is going. As M. Rakowski said last week at a working meeting in Krakow: "We will definitely go in a direction toward democracy, progress, and, first and foremost, toward linking national interests with the working people's ideas about correctly understood social justice." It is also our desire that our friends' party realize its resolution, which will lead to the elevation of its authority and to its greater influence on the masses.

In Prague on Monday the CPCZ and the PZPR expressed their complete respect for the variety of the conditions and needs of each party. This is a prerequisite and not a constraint for ensuring that our relations become even more workmanlike and enhanced by the more effective exchange of experiences from both the successes and from the mistakes and temporary shortcomings. This is the logic of true partnership contacts, tried and tested by life, for which we are striving.

300 Poles Turned Back at Border, Trains Delayed

AU2809145889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "International Express Trains Delayed"]

[Excerpts] Olomouc (CTK)—The end of summer time Sunday [24 September] morning did not cause the Czechoslovak State Railroads any serious problems, as far as domestic routes are concerned. [passage omitted]

Much worse was the situation with respect to the international trains which arrive in the CSSR from Poland. They were overfilled with Polish tourists who did not know that the [Sunday] flea market in Slusovice would not take place. Instead, they then headed for the Ostrava flea market. The Silesia express train therefore left the border crossing at Petrovice near Karvina with a delay of 325 minutes. [passage omitted] Some 300 Polish citizens on the Katowice-Bohumin train were turned back home because all was not well with their documents. The Hungary-bound Batory express train had been reinforced at Petrovice with 6 railroad cars and left the station with a delay of 548 minutes. Similarly, the Vienna- bound Chopin train and the Varsovia train were delayed by about 500 minutes.

Protocol Signed With Hungary on Gabcikovo Project

LD2709233989 Prague CTK in English 2134 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Bratislava Sept 27 (CTK)—A three-day meeting of a Czechoslovak-Hungarian group of experts, which discussed newly tabled ecological aspects of the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros power stations on the Danube, ended today with the signing of a protocol.

Reviewing the results of the talks, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science Imrich Daubner said the meeting had been well prepared and "its results enabled the participants to go home partially satisifed though agreement had not been reached on all of the points under discussion. The meeting took place on a tactful and friendly spirit". The two sides displayed endeavour to understand the arguments of partners but also to seek ways in order to put technical solutions into harmony with ecological requirements.

The two sides agreed that a sufficient amount of underground water must be preserved in the area around the constuction site, and its good quality must be ensured. They also agreed with the need to carry out all measures in order not to upset the self-purifying process of the Danube, and both favoured a systematic and comprehensive monitoring of the environment by united methods.

Imrich Daubner further stressed that while Czechoslovak scientists are convinced that research conducted so far provides a sufficient amount of knowledge so that the construction of the power stations need not be postponed and can go on as planned, the Hungarian ecologists want the conclusions to be confirmed by further research which will take a year and possibly also three years. They believe that the necessary data can be obtained in some cases by simulating the situation in laboratory conditions while Czechoslovak experts believe that truly credible results can be obtained only after the power stations are put into operation.

Imrich Daubner added that the two sides had also agreed on the need to eliminate the decisive sources of the pollution of the Danube and its feeders on Czechoslovak territory, through the construction of waste water treatment plants, which is already underway.

'Realistic' Forint-Koruna Exchange Rate Needed

AU2809144889

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 25 September on page 3, in the "From the Letters to the Editor" column, carries a 550-word letter from Bohumir Marek, a miner from Moravska Trebova, in which he describes his "negative experiences" during his vacation at a camping ground at Lake Balaton in Hungary this summer. In particular, Marek criticizes the fact that "under the terms of the agreement with the Hungarian partners," vacationers from Czechoslovakia must participate in a group dinner, which costs Kcs160 per person. "Considering the food being offered, this is an intolerable price, which is the subject of lively discussions among participants in the recreation," Marek says. Marek also complains about the "absolutely unsuitable exchange rate of the forint against our currency," which

makes the stay in Hungary very expensive for Czechoslovaks, and about the small forint allowance sold to participants in organized tours to Hungary (1,800 forints for 8 days). In conclusion, Marek says: "I publicly ask the responsible officials of the Government Committee for Tourism whether they are aware of such problems and difficulties when they conclude the relevant agreements. Does the daily forint allowance correspond to what one really needs and to the rapidly growing prices? Or do they count in advance on our being used to this and on our having no choice? I consider the present situation to be undignified and humiliating for all of us."

The inflationary price development in Hungary and the need for a "realistic" exchange rate of the koruna against the forint are also the subject of three readers' letters published by Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 September on page 4. The letters, which total 1,100 words, are published under the headline "Need for a Realistic Exchange Rate." The author of the first letter, Karol Lukasch from Bratislava, dismisses Hungarian media criticism of the recent Czechoslovak decision to charge Hungarian motorists a higher price for gasoline. Lukasch points out that the Czechoslovak move is directed only against "speculative" purchases and that motorists on transit to Poland or Hungarian visitors to the High Tatra will not be affected because they need not fill up in Czechoslovakia at all. Lukasch also observes that in 1974 when, for a short period of time, gasoline cost less in Hungary than in Czechoslovakia, Hungary also charged Czechoslovak motorists a special fee of 300 forints, regardless of the length of their stay and the actual amount of gasoline they would purchase. The author of the second letter, Milan Illas from Bratislava, criticizes the existing agreement on exchange rates between socialist countries because it is "outdated" and because it "allows our neighbors to maintain or improve their living standards at our expense." At the same time, Illas raises objections to the decision to sell gasoline to Hungarians for vouchers because attendants of filling stations may abuse the system to enrich themselves. The third letter writer, Jozef Cirbus, a pensioner from Levoca, criticizes the fact that, despite a series of price increases in Hungary, the koruna-forint exchange rate remains unchanged, which allows Hungarians to shop cheaply in Czechoslovakia. He says that in July he saw Hungarians tourists in Dunajska Streda load "20 to 30 kilograms of sugar, 10 kilograms of rice, and several shoe boxes" into their car and that "the same thing is happening in the entire border area, from Bratislava to Cierna nad Tisou." Cirbus expresses his "astonishment" at the fact that the "adjustment of the price of gasoline for citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic" has been the only step taken by the Czechoslovak side so far and calls on the "competent bodies" to "radically set right" the rate of exchange between the Czechoslovak and Hungarian currencies.

Romania's Dobrin Ends Visit 22 Sep

AU2809163689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Representatives of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front of the Romanian Socialist Republic headed by Tamara Dobrin, executive chairwoman of the organization's National Council, who were visiting Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front, departed for home on Friday [22 September].

Chinese Consumer Goods To Help Allay Shortages

AU2809164689 Prague PRACE in Czech 22 Sep 89 p 3

["rh"-signed report: "Goods From China"]

[Text] Bratislava—At a news conference in Bratislava yesterday [21 September] Kazimir Nagy, Slovak minister of trade and tourism, informed journalists that his ministry has taken measures to stabilize the situation on the domestic market. Goods from China valued at Kcs3,4 billion in foreign exchange should appear on the market by the end of the year. Involved, above all, is scarce cotton underwear, knitted garments, extensive range of footwear, leather wear and fancy goods, food specialities, some electronic consumer goods, school and office supplies, and industrial goods. K. Nagy also said that an agreement was signed with Czechoslovak carriers to make the goods contracted for the fourth quarter to reach shops on 15 November at the latest.

Vaclavik Returns From PRC, DPRK 22 Sep

AU2809165189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 89 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, has concluded his official friendly visit to the PRC and the DPRK, and returned to Prague on Friday [22 September].

He was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, chief of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army and CSSR first deputy minister of national defense. The delegation also was welcomed by Wang Xingda, PRC ambassador to the CSSR, and Ri Won-son, counsellor of the DPRK Embassy in the CSSR. Colonel General Nikolay Zlotov, senior representative of the chief commander of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states to the CSSR Minister of National Defense, was also present.

CPCZ Congratulates Israeli CP on Anniversary

AU2809171089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 89 p 1

[Text] Prague (z)—The central organ of the Czechoslovak Communist Party has sent a congratulatory telegram to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel on the 70th anniversary of its founding. The telegram expresses appreciation for the endeavor of the Israeli Communists oriented toward creating conditions for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East region, guaranteeing equal rights to the Israeli and Arab people.

Easing Of Foreign Travel Restrictions Announced

AU2809152889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Sep 89 p 2

[Interview with Vaclav Marhoul, head of the Foreign Tourism Department at the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Trade, by Igor Sirota: "We Will Travel More Often; Apropos One Point Discussed At the Government's Meeting"—date and place not given]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—The proposal for the comprehensive development of Czechoslovak tourism up to the year 2000, which the CSSR Government approved on Thursday [21 September], establishes the prerequisites for the further development of tourism. We asked Vaclav Marhoul, head of the Foreign Tourism Department at the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Trade, for more details.

[Sirota] What specifically will the measures bring to each of us?

[Marhoul] To put it simply—the opportunity to travel more often. This year it is envisaged that 800,000-900,000 of our citizens will travel to nonsocialist countries. That is twice the number of a few years ago. Thanks to all the adopted measures, by 1995 this number will be, roughly, trebled. Two to two and a half million people will travel abroad.

[Sirota] Where will we get the foreign currency for this?

[Marhoul] This involves a simple equation—whatever we earn from tourism plus the amount of foreign currency foreign tourists spend in our country equals the amount that we will have for our citizens' journeys, for building hotels, and for other facilities. If we work out this equation we get the following result—that the government's measures are a concrete realization of the party's policy and of the Federal Government's 8 November 1988 policy statement. This represents a policy which places the people's needs and interests first and economic "indicators" after them.

[Sirota] Can you state specifically in what way and to whom the acquired foreign currency resources will be allotted?

[Marhoul] This year tourism will earn up to 2.3 billion [no currency specified] in freely convertible currencies. However, the resources remain only in part in the tourism sphere. Things will be different starting next year. Everything will remain in this sphere. The basis is, as I say, a clean sheet. Nothing will be taken out and put into other branches.

There is more. The travel agencies will retain 40 percent of the foreign currency and the majority of this amount will go into organizing excursions. The remaining 60 percent will be put into the central foreign currency reserves to be used for tourism needs. Foreign currency allocations for journeys abroad will be covered by these reserves. Some resources will also be allocated to the national committees in Prague, Brno, Karlovy Vary, Piestany, and Bratislava to help develop their infrastructure and appearance. I would like to emphasize that without greater resourcefulness—from enterprises, collectives, as well as individuals—we will not get by. Our intention up to 1995 is to increase threefold the income generated by tourism so that this amounts to 10 percent of overall Czechoslovak foreign exports in foreign currency.

Thus, after the previous years of stagnation in tourism, we should catch up with countries such as Belgium, Holland, Finland, and others. Our long-term aim up to the year 2000 is to equate conditions for foreigners staying in the CSSR and for our citizens' journeys abroad with the standard in advanced Western countries.

[Sirota] These are good prospects but what about today and tomorrow? After all, everyone who travels knows just how much unnecessary paperwork is involved in travelling. Will this change?

[Marhoul] During next year, prerequisites should be created for abolishing exit visas and for their replacement with statistical sheets.

[Sirota] The form will be replaced with something else?

[Marhoul] I will put it another way. Today, for a journey to a nonsocialist country, you go three times, on the average, to the passport and visas department. In the future you will go only once and you will have to fill out fewer forms. After the computer network has been set up at border crossings it will be possible to provide everything right on the border. When we add that the possibility of abolishing customs and foreign currency statements is also being considered, this comes to a substantial simplification of formalities.

[Sirota] Will it not also be possible to "adjust" the routes taken by our tourists travelling to Yugoslavia and Bulgaria?

[Marhoul] You mean, why can they not travel to Yugoslavia via Austria or to Bulgaria via Yugoslavia? This will be possible from next year as long as there is sufficient foreign currency.

I would like to add that all of these measures will become reality only with the close cooperation between our

ministry and a number of others together with the banks, planning organs, travel agencies, national committees, and citizens. These are government measures which thoroughly implement the intentions of restructuring and economic reforms. They consistently assert the people's interests and needs.

[Sirota] Thank you for the interview.

Inter-Agency Space Cooperation Discussed

AU2809152589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 89 p 2

[Stanislav Stibor report: "Cooperation in Space Research; Conclusion of the World Space Agencies Session"]

[Text] Prague (From our own correspondent)—On Friday [22 September] the heads of the delegations attending the Prague session of the consultative group of world space agencies—the Interkosmos program, NASA from the United States, the European Space Agency (ESA), and ISAS [expansion unknown] from Japan—met for a discussion with journalists.

Professor Alexey Galeyev, head of the Interkosmos delegation, said that the ninth IACG (Inter-Agency Consultative Group for Space Science) had taken place in Prague because Czechoslovakia plays a significant role in the projects which will be mutually coordinated.

The main contents of the session were the coordination of the experiments underway, in particular, the coordination of prepared space experiments for the 1992-97 period and global cooperation in space research in general. This involves, first and foremost, coordinating preparations for the new cosmic projects carrying out research into near space and the physical processes which take place in the region between the Sun and the Earth. One of the newest coordinated experiments will be the Aktiv project which has been prepared in the Interkosmos program. Its planned launch date is 28 September when the main satellite constructed in the USSR, from which an auxiliary satellite built by our experts will be disengaged, will be launched into orbit. Besides collaboration involving these two satellites, which is the main ingredient of the project, the data that is accumulated will be analyzed along with data from the Dynamics Explorer satellite (NASA) and the Japanese Akebono satellite.

Professor Roger-Maurice Bonnet, head of the ESA delegation, said, among other things, that during the first launch of the Ariane 5 rocket in 1995, a satellite will be launched which will observe the Sun's influence on the ionosphere and the magnetosphere. At the same time, it will be in close cooperation with the socialist countries' Regata project whose two Soviet satellites will also be launched in 1995.

The participants in the Prague IACG session considered approximately 30 projects and experiments for the very near future as well as the coordination and cooperation which is involved in their implementation. Each of the projects, whether the above mentioned heads of delegations or others—Professor Joseph Alexander from NASA and Professor Jun Nishimura from ISAS—spoke about them, can, in close coordination, amplify the scientific results that are acquired. However, they also bring further confirmation of the advantages of cooperation in peaceful space research.

Tank Dismantling Begins in North Moravia

LD2809201289 Prague CTK in English 1715 GMT 28 SEP 89

[Text] Novy Jicin, North Moravia, Sept 28 (CTK)—The dismantling and scrapping of tanks, provided for by a decision of the State Defence Council of January this year, started in a military repair factory here today. The scrapping of a total number of 850 tanks in 1989-90 is part of a Czechoslovak unilateral disarmament initiative, which envisages also the transfer of 20,000 soldiers to construction firms, the dissolution of six military formations, and the scrapping of 165 armoured vehicles and 51 warplanes.

Director of the military repair factory Jiri Kusak told newsmen that a minimum of 100 t-55 tanks will be taken into pieces this year and 250 next year in Novy Jicin. Some Parts from the tanks will be used as spare parts in other tank units.

Chief of the tank service of the Federal Defence Ministry Major- General Karel Gabriel said that altogether 116 t-54 and t-55 tanks have so far been taken to pieces or rebuilt to be used as training vehicles.

Slusovice Manager on Importance of Profit

AU2809121889

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 22 September on page 3 carries a 2,200-word article by Docent Engineer Frantisek Trnka, candidate of sciences, deputy director of the Agrokombinat Slusovice United Agricultural Cooperative in charge of economic affairs, entitled "Why Is Economic Accountability Not Fully Effective?" The article criticizes the concept of economic accountability as perceived in Czechoslovak economic theory thus far and suggests that, instead of pursuing economic accountability in the traditional sense, enterprises should focus on the generation of profit as a "clearly formulated, comprehensible, and measurable target."

Trnka cites the definition of economic accountability which is to be found in economic encyclopedias and which defines it as a "socialist method of management aimed at the fulfillment of planned tasks, rational use of labor and production assets, and safeguarding the growth of the profitability of production." He criticizes this interpretation as "outdated" because it emphasizes "economy and keeping down costs as the way to increase

profitability." According to Trnka, by applying economic accountability in line with this theoretical concept, enterprises are encouraged to "use predominantly their existing production assets and labor," which "suppresses the initiative of their work force." In their work, managers focus on the analysis and assessment of various cost items, instead of on the search for new production programs, which should be their main task.

Such a perception of economic accountability, he says, cannot lead to any outstanding results because in traditional production branches, such as agriculture, there is a limit to the gains that can be achieved through cost-cutting and thrift. Trnka suggests that, instead, enterprises and their work force be given the generation of profit as a clear and comprehensible target. Referring to the experience of his own enterprise, the Slusovice manager argues that such a target "mobilizes" the work force to seek new programs and solutions, to expand production, and, thereby, to increase social wealth and national income.

Knotek Discusses Party's Economic Tasks

AU2609134689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Vladimir Cechlovsky: "Programatically, With New Perspectives"—place and date not given]

[Text] The fulfillment of the line aimed at accelerating social and economic development and ensuring the restructuring of the economic mechanism comes urgently to the fore of the attention of party bodies and organizations in the period of the preparations for the annual membership meetings of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party], the party conferences, and the 18th CPCZ Congress. We spoke with Comrade Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, about the tasks facing the party when it comes to the fulfillment of this year's economic plan and the preparations for the 1990 plan.

[Cechlovsky] Comrade Secretary, how do you generally assess the results achieved by our economy this year?

[Knotek] The development of the national economy and the fulfillment of the state plan in the first 8 months of this year reveal that there have been certain positive changes in the effort to achieve greater intensification and efficiency in the national economy. However, in no case must that be a reason for self-complacency; on the contrary, it is necessary to pursue even more determinedly the measures that have been adopted to comprehensively fulfill the tasks of the national economic plan and assert the principles of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in life.

[Cechlovsky] Can you characterize the achieved results in greater detail, at least the main aspects?

[Knotek] National income grew by roughly 2 percent. The increase was covered by the growth in social labor productivity. This is a faster growth than the state plan envisaged. The fulfillment of the social program of the 17th CPCZ Congress continues; for example, the personal consumption of the population increased by roughly 3 percent.

On the domestic market—despite a number of long-term problems—we succeeded to a certain extent in halting the worsening of shortcomings regarding the supply of goods. The supply of foodstuffs to the market remained essentially stabilized; the good results of farmers' work are creating conditions for it to be also improved in the coming period. There was an improvement as regards satisfying the demand for a number of types of industrial goods, solid fuels, sanitary products, and so forth. Foreign exchange receipts from trade with the nonsocialist countries increased.

Despite these facts regarding the economy's performance and effectiveness, the desired turn has not occurred. This also prevents faster progress when it comes to resolving structural development programs. The slow introduction of the results of scientific-technical development is the cause of the enterprises' low level of innovative activity. However, the problems connected with the economic and social development to date are no reason for pessimism or concern about the future. Czechoslovakia has an efficient economy and all the prerequisites for further successful development.

[Cechlovsky] Let us talk about shortcomings. What are their main causes?

[Knotek] The causes are both the insufficient motivating effect of the existing economic mechanism and, above all, the surviving approaches of the economic sphere and all levels of management toward the solution of economic tasks. This is often still seen in the manner of work and thinking which used to be typical of the period of overwhelmingly extensive development and the administratively-directive management system. On the one hand, some of the ranking economic personnel speak about restructuring, but on the other hand they take insufficient practical steps, and not infrequently wait for instructions from above. This can be seen, for example, in the slow pace of improving management in enterprises. Therefore, when implementing tasks, the Communists and party organizations must create an atmosphere of great demandingness at all work sites, and press for a search for new ways and concrete solutions.

In order to overcome shortcomings in the development of the national economy, the CSSR Government has adopted a number of measures, especially in the sphere of investments, the domestic market, health care, and the development of wages. In the remaining months of this year we must concentrate attention on a consistent fulfillment of the state plan and all additionally adopted measures in such a way as to create favorable conditions

for a successful realization of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the implementation of the targets of the 1990 plan.

[Cechlovsky] As the findings to date reveal, the preparations for the 1990 plan are being approached quite responsibly everywhere. However, a frequent argument is that the center still has not supplied sufficient guidelines for setting up plans. What is your opinion?

[Knotek] In view of the complexity of preparing the new economic instruments; restructuring the wholesale and procurement prices; and the ongoing changes in organizing the production- technical, scientific-research, and the distribution base, the 1990 state plan will not be approved until November. This, however, did not and does not prevent the preparation of enterprises' economic plans. This preparation must, in the first place, consist of perfecting enterprises' management, introducing intra-enterprise economic accountability, changing the structure of production in accordance with the demands of the domestic and foreign market, concluding supplier-user relations, and working out programs for innovations and technical development in a way that would ensure the consistent fulfillment of the tasks of the national economic plan and the acceleration of the rate of intensification compared with the present development.

Also, we cannot fail to see that the orientation of preparing the 1990 state plan, which proceeds from the new conditions, was approved by the CSSR Government as early as in July of last year. Even though the orientation did not have the nature of obligatory tasks, guidelines, or directives, it did provide basic information about the contemplated dynamics of development and the proportions of the economy which the center will be ensuring to implement the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Thus, it has made it possible with a sufficient head start to orient the work of the economic and budget-funded organizations toward preparing their plans.

The experience to date reveals that, thus far, a number of enterprises have not made full use of this time to actively resolve the supplier-user relations. Even though it would be unfair to generalize the current situation, it is necessary to openly say that some enterprise behave as if this would not concern them. They rely on the center to provide solutions, as if they would have forgotten that the general directorates had been abolished, that state bodies had reduced the number of their staffers, and that, therefore, there is no other way but to responsibly resolve supplier-user relations by means of economic contracts. There also are other extremes: Some enterprises interpret the scope for socialist entrepreneurship exclusively in their own way. They refuse to conclude economic contracts, or they make them contingent on providing a proportion of the amount in foreign exchange, and such things. The situation is all the more serious since the essence of the orientation of preparing the state plan in 1990 was to achieve qualitative indicators which would be close to the demandingness of the original intentions of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

[Cechlovsky] At a recent statewide consultation of leading secretaries of the regional and district party committees, Comrade Milos Jakes drew attention to the fact that in quite a few places both enterprises and the pertinent branch ministries demand the reduction of next year's tasks and, at the same time, are calling for more investments and the acceleration of wage development. What role do Communists play in preparing plans?

[Knotek] The task of Communists in setting up economic plans is to actively see to it that the needs of society are respected and that the internal resources of enterprises are activated. This is a path which will make the further growth of the population's standard of living possible without increasing indebtedness. At the same time, one has to proceed from the fact that the development plans both of enterprises and work collectives must be covered, above all, from their own resources. We expect that the plans of enterprises will be worked out on the principles of self-financing and on the basis of their own active, developmental, and economizing measures oriented toward uncovering internal reserves. In accordance with the long-term structural policy, economic plans must consist of optimally utilizing fuel-energy resources and raw and other materials by reducing the proportion of energy- and material- intensive production, by having the processing branches make the utmost from raw materials, by introducing the production of better quality materials which have higher utility parameters, and by developing the production of consumer goods.

The working out of the 1990 plan under the new management conditions—with the center and the economic sphere being prepared differently, with a different income situation for enterprises, and with the existing shortcomings as regards ensuring the requirements of the domestic and foreign market—places exceptionally high demands on the work of Communist economists and the self-management bodies. The economic organizations, in particular, must change their attitudes. Their entrepreneurial plans must be based on the independence based on full economic accountability.

[Cechlovsky] Foreign exchange is an important resource for development. Enterprises are increasingly interested in it. How much can they count on?

[Knotek] I have already said that we cannot incur debt. It will be possible to satisfy the demand for imports from the nonsocialist countries, to ensure the production and the tasks of the nonproduction sphere [as published], for example health care, and to satisfy the need to import advanced technologies in order to modernize the entire national economy only if we increase the effectiveness of Czechoslovak exports and make full use of the system of self-financing with foreign exchange. It also applies that the introduction of the new economic mechanism, when the management role of the comprehensive state plan is

newly conceived, will open a broad scope for the entrepreneurial activity of enterprises and for the creative initiative of the working people.

[Cechlovsky] However, at the aforementioned statewide consultation of the leading secretaries there also resounded more than once the reproach that the old approaches are also surviving in the center and that the central bodies are currently providing little help to the enterprise sphere. What can be said about that?

[Knotek] Such criticism is often justified,—especially of the founders, that is, of ministries and the national committees—when state enterprises are being established. The duty of the central bodies is to play an active part in creating conditions for socialist entrepreneurship, independence, and self-financing of enterprises. In view of the differences in the standard of the production-economic base, one of the center's important tasks is to create conditions for equalizing them. Therefore, it is necessary to have a differentiated approach toward solving the consequences of the impacts on the economy which arise from the considerably differing starting conditions, in which a number of organizations will have resources that facilitate an excessive growth of wages and investments and a number of organizations will be incapable of self-financing. The objective is to prevent inflationary pressures in enterprises which will have excessive financial resources.

On the other hand, one cannot conceal that the center is only beginning to form itself. The staff of the central bodies was reduced by 30 percent. All of this, with the continuing routine, causes a number of problems.

It also is known that a number of state enterprises have begun working with consolidation programs. Some of them have been trying to shift the solving of their problems onto the state. At the same time, one has to say that such attempts are at loggerheads with the intentions of restructuring. The central point of consolidation is the enterprise and changing its economic system, including making better use of bank credits. The state will support development programs, but the policy of subsidies will be changed from its very foundation in the future. Therefore, the demand for self-financing, which limits the existence of every enterprise, is of greatest importance.

[Cechlovsky] Comrade Secretary, can you summarize what actually is the main mission of the party organizations?

[Knotek] It is, under the conditions of every CPCZ primary organization and party body, to create the necessary atmosphere of demandingness and personal participation and responsibility of every Communist to implement the tasks of restructuring. Its political and economic objectives were clearly formulated at the seventh and ninth CPCZ Central Committee sessions.

In this period it is necessary more than ever to concentrate on comprehensively fulfilling this year's tasks and seriously preparing for ensuring the tasks of the year 1990. The party organizations, with the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, should demand that the ranking economic personnel ensure from the very first days of the next year the timeliness and good quality all organizational, technological, and economic projects connected with implementing tasks. The weakest link of preparedness seems to be supplier-user relations and intra-enterprise management. Therefore, it is desirable to concentrate the control activity here.

In enterprises one has to more profoundly address the introduction of and the effect of the economic accountability principles of management. The party and the trade union organization must support those ranking personnel who demand higher technological and work discipline and those foremen, technicians, heads of brigades, directors, and chairmen of the united agricultural cooperatives, who, in the interest of the enterprise, are asserting differentiated remuneration according to actual achieved results of work, and not according to the principle "the same to everyone." What is involved is a complex social problem, a principled solution of social justice. Also, the conclusions of the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session remain at the center of attention, conclusions which are oriented toward a faster implementation of the results of scientific-technical revolution in practice. At every work site they should proceed programatically; it cannot be allowed that temporary problems of some enterprises push into the background the tasks of an enterprise's development, modernization, innovations, and structural changes.

Every party primary organization should solve the problems of its work site in a differentiated manner. For us, the Communists, it is important to make use of all of the information and experience from the ongoing annual membership meetings and the party's preparations for its 18th Congress. We proceed from the tried-and-tested forms and methods of our work, which demand placing the centerpiece of our efforts on comprehensively assessing the implementation of tasks and on adopting concrete measures, with which Communists will contribute to solving the tasks of restructuring at their work site. One of the crucial tasks of the day is winning over work collectives to fulfilling tasks in enterprises and to raising their initiative. Nothing must be left to chance. The time in which we are realizing the restructuring of our society is complex. Not everything will develop the way we would like it to. All the more, and all the more consistently, it is necessary that Communists stand at the head of this struggle and that they prove with concrete deeds that the CPCZ is not only the initiator, but also the guarantor of successful restructuring and the further development of our socialist society.

[Cechlovsky] I thank you for the interview.

Daily Warns Against 'Political Clericalism'

AU2909105989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Sep 89 p 4

[Article by Jaroslav Celko from the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Slovak Academy of Sciences: "The Church and Politics"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The Church sometimes enforces its political intentions directly, through the medium of its structures, including members of the hierarchy. However, this course of action is not always advantageous for it and often it even boomerangs. This is because the essence and the main political aims of churches are at variance with the interests of the working masses, as a result of which both laymen and some priests often express disapproval of the positions maintained by church circles as well as of the methods they use. [passage omitted]

More often, the Church therefore pushes through its policy "indirectly," through the medium of suitable instruments. These are, above all, clericalist political parties, which currently operate in many capitalist states. However, other organizations also play their role in this area—clericalist trade unions, various women's and youth organizations, educational establishments, mass media, and so forth. [passage omitted] This entire complex is known under the name political clericalism.

By its essence and aims, political clericalism is in accord with the interests of the exploiting classes of the capitalist world. At the same time it is at odds with the efforts of progressive social forces to build socialism. This is why political clericalism has lost its raison d'etre in socialist countries, including our country. [passage omitted] Some church circles and militant laymen refuse to take note of this fact, however. Quite the reverse; efforts are being exerted, the gist of which is the restoration of the political positions of the church and the revival of clericalism in socialist states. Addressing a news conference during his stay in northern Italy in 1985, Cardinal J. Glemp said that there is nothing strange about it when the church in Poland "assumes also the role of political mediator." According to O. Turowicz, chief editor of the Catholic paper TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, the church cannot confine itself to preaching the faith but must also take stands on political questions because this activity forms an integral part of its pastoral mission. Of course, even here the Church mainly discharges the function of "teacher" and "adviser." The specific tasks are implemented by Solidarity, which is an unequivocally clericalist organization (originally, it supposedly was a "trade union," what sort of an organization does it want to be in the future?). There is no need to indulge in any illusions about its true aims, which have nothing in common with socialism.

In neighboring Hungary, too, they would like to resuscitate political clericalism. Everything suggests that the exponents of these tendencies, both foreign and domestic, do not run up against any serious resistance. Socialism in Hungary will thus soon have to contend with an old-new adversary in clericalist garb.

The intentions to revive clericalism have not bypassed our country either. However, by no means do they meet with the response which certain foreign circles and domestic clericalist-minded enemies of socialism who are allied with them would like to see. A survey of public opinion carried out in 1986 showed that 61 percent of respondents are opposed to the interference by the Church in political goings-on, while 20 percent said that they were unable to assess the problem, and only 19 percent expressed themselves to the effect that they advocate interference by the Church in political events, next to its activity aimed at satisfying religious needs. [passage omitted] Political clericalism has been wholly discredited in our country. There is no need to revive it. Realistically minded church circles apparently take this fact into account. And those who would like to act otherwise will find out that our firm determination to develop socialism—at the present stage, in the shape of restructuring—simultaneously means the rejection of all and any antisocialist efforts, including those veiled in clericalist or even religious garb.

RUDE PRAVO Replies to Readers' Questions

AU2809151089

[Editorial report] Under the headline "Openly About Many Questions," Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 23 September on page 3 carries a 4,200-word "edited and abridged transcript" of a discussion between RUDE PRAVO readers and RUDE PRAVO staff journalists, which took place on the occasion of the annual RUDE PRAVO festival in Prague on 17 September. The readers' questions are answered by Zdenek Porybny, deputy chief editor; Milan Jelinek, head of the foreign policy department; Michal Podzimek, head of the party policy department; Vladimir Cechlovsky, head of the party economic and social policy department; Stanislav Stepanek, head of the HALO SOBOTA weekend supplement; Ivo Urban, head of the physical education and sports department; Zdenek Vavra, staff member of the propaganda, science, and education department; and Jiri Janouskovec, deputy head of the letters department.

Several questions concern current developments in other socialist countries. Asked about his assessment of current developments in Hungary and Poland, Jelinek says: "Judging from information carried by the Hungarian press, two ideological currents are making themselves felt in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party at present. One current is of a social democratic type and its ideas are similar to those of Swedish social democrats, for example. The second current insists that the reforms that will be adopted and enforced in society must lead to a new quality of the socialist society. You know that the Hungarian party will have its congress at the beginning of October, which will be of immense importance.

"As to Poland, we provide our readers with extensive information, which, too, is based fully on the Polish press. Here, too, we have delivered our opinion. To put it concisely: We hope that Premier Mazowiecki's new Polish Government will proceed prudently, that the broad coalition which makes it up will overcome the crisis in the country. It is in our common interest.

"One more thing needs to be added. It has been clearly said that each party is responsible to its own people for developments in its country. It is therefore a matter for the Hungarian and Polish friends and comrades to decide what sort of policy they will pursue. It goes without saying that we are not indifferent to the fate of socialism in any country."

Another reader inquires "which socialism is genuine. The one in our country, the one in Hungary, Poland, or the one in the Soviet Union?" The question is answered by Zdenek Porybny: "No one ever said, and no one says today, that socialism is a complete, closed model. Socialism is developing. During my life I have witnessed several important stages in the development of our socialist society and I hope to live to see further stages as well. Life means change and any system would become extinct without changes.

"As Lenin wrote, world socialism is the sum total of a whole number of diverse paths toward a new, socially just society. The 'genuine socialism' you are referring to, one valid for all countries and times, simply does not exist. Each country proceeds from its own conditions and historical experiences, but also from the experiences of others.

"We, for instance, would be committing a mistake, in my opinion, if we let restructuring drown in a wave of such political passions and settling of accounts as we had once experienced or as we now see in some neighboring countries."

Porybny also responds to a reader's opinion that "RUDE PRAVO writes about developments in the USSR in a less detailed manner than some Soviet publications, such as TYDENIK AKTUALIT." He assures the reader that RUDE PRAVO is trying to report on the Soviet Union "objectively, extensively, and promptly" and advises him to read RUDE PRAVO carefully "because we publish an enormous amount of materials about the USSR, providing information about things we like as well as about those we dislike." He points out, however, that RUDE PRAVO has only two pages reserved for foreign policy issues and cannot devote the same attention to events in that country as some specialized publications, such as TYDENIK AKTUALIT.

Another reader inquires what RUDE PRAVO considers to be the "greatest failure of restructuring in the Soviet Union." Milan Jelinek answers the question as follows: "The formulation of the question is suggestive, even biased. Why failure? Why not success? The fact is that many people—not only in the CSSR, but also in the socialist states, in the West, and particularly in the Soviet Union where it is their first right and duty—are asking what is going on. Is it a crisis of socialism, a crisis of the party, or the renewal of principles in which we had and have faith and which we want to make come true?

"I believe that what is involved is, in a way, a crisis of the old and obsolete command system, which we, too, have been professing up to a certain period of time. Historians and our party will find a reply to the question of where this system was positive for us—and it was positive because it built and accomplished something—and at which point of time it started to stand in the way of development. The sharp turn, the reversal we are now experiencing is an objective matter. It is my opinion that, sooner or later, all socialist countries, but other countries as well, will go through social changes. We do not know when, at which pace, at which point of time, and which form this will take, but they all will go through this.

"Failures exist and will exist. When something old is being discarded and something new searched for, errors and mistakes come to pass. This is true of private lives and, all the more so, of large collectives of people."

Another group of questions concerns official attitude toward Czechoslovak opposition. One of these questions reads: "Why have you not published 'A Few Sentences,' against which you are waging a campaign, why do you not seriously ponder the reasons which make people sign this petition, and, instead, devote your energy to slandering the signatories and exposing them to criminal prosecution?" The question is answered by Jiri Janouskovec. He says that RUDE PRAVO did not publish the petition because "there is no reason why we should publish information prepared by groups placing themselves outside the law." In spite of this, he says, by responding to individual points of this "pamphlet," RUDE PRAVO "provided detailed information on its content."

Janouskovec goes on to say that, in his opinion, not all signatories of "A Few Sentences" are opponents of socialism. He also contends that, while RUDE PRAVO assumed a "standpoint of principle" on the petition, it has not "scandalized" any of its signatories and "has not instigated criminal prosecution against them."

In a related question, one reader asks why RUDE PRAVO "defames the sincere thinking of independent initiatives, why it criminalizes them, and does not conduct a dialogue with them." Again, this question is answered by Jiri Janouskovec. He says: "I have my doubts about the sincerity of the thinking of illegal groups. In which way is it sincere? In the endeavor to destroy the socialist system in our country, in the scandalization of honest people, in the efforts to provoke unrest? The activity of these groups is not being criminalized. Legal action is not taken against illegal organizations but against individuals committing criminal offenses."

Responding to the last part of the question, Janouskovec says: "These people often demand a dialogue with the state leadership. At the same time, they regard their own view as the only correct ones and do not accept any

other. Our party is not opposed to a dialogue. But if it is to take place, then only with those people who are interested in the further development of socialism and not with those who seek its liquidation. No common language with them can be found."

Several questions concern economic issues. Replying to a question about Czechoslovakia's foreign debt, Vladimir Cechlovsky says that the country's debt in freely convertible currencies rose by $1.7 billion in 1986-88 and reached $6.7 billion at the end of last year. However, if the credits in freely convertible currencies which Czechoslovakia granted abroad in the past are taken into account, Cechlovsky continues, the country is an international creditor. Nevertheless, Cechlovsky admits that the development so far in the foreign exchange economy is "not satisfactory."

Another reader inquires whether Czechoslovakia will seek the most-favored-nation status in the United States, "just like Hungary and Poland." Zdenek Porybny, who answers the question, says that the United States makes the granting of this status to Czechoslovakia "conditional on various political conditions, which, being a sovereign state, we are not willing to accept."

One reader asks why RUDE PRAVO has not published the report of the Forecasting Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences on the state of the Czechoslovak economy and whether this report has been studied by the premier or other central bodies. Vladimir Cechlovsky replies that the reader probably has in mind the institute's forecast up to the year 2010, which "contains many elements evaluating our development to date." He goes on to say that the study has 127 pages and does not lend itself to publication in the daily press. Cechlovsky points out, however, that the forecast has been sent to all central agencies "for consideration and application" in drafting the Long-Term Outlook of the Economic and Social Development of the CSSR Through the Year 2005. He also notes that the Forecasting Institute issues many publications of its own and that its researchers routinely publish articles in newspapers and periodicals.

Two questions included in the RUDE PRAVO transcript of the discussion concern the new Czechoslovak Constitution, now in preparation. The first question reads: "Will the leading role of the communist party in society be reduced in the new constitution? Will you publish the draft of the new constitution? Will there be a referendum about it?"

The question is answered by Michal Podzimek: "I believe that the leading role of the communist party will be laid down in the draft of the new constitution. However, not as a mere laconic statement of the fact. The point will be to express wherein political guidance of society rests, to state that it rests primarily in the elaboration of the main strategy for the development of society, the implementation of which the party secures by political means. The draft of the new constitution will also express the part played by the other political parties of the National Front in the formulation, implementation, and review of policy.

"The draft constitution will be submitted to a broad public discussion. The approval of the constitution, or, more accurately, its passing, is within the competence of the CSSR Federal Assembly."

The second question reads: "Why does the inequality between party members and nonparty members continue; will the new constitution guarantee equality?" Podzimek replies that he understands the question "mainly as a problem of cadre policy" and refers to the resolution of the December 1987 party plenum on cadre policy, under which "the most conscious and best prepared" members of other political parties and people without party affiliation are to be assigned "posts of responsibility."

Podzimek also replies to a reader inquiring whether the possibility is being considered of introducing "alternative military service" in Czechoslovakia. In his reply, Michal Podzimek refers to the recently commenced organizational changes in the Czechoslovak People's Army and to Milos Jakes' speech in Banska Bystrica in August, in which he said that a cut in the duration of national service is being considered. He does not, however, give a reply to the question itself.

Another issue which is raised in the discussion is "glasnost" in the media. One reader points out that HALO SOBOTA recently reprinted a Soviet interview with Mikhail Gorbachev, in which he discussed his private and family life, but that, so far, it has not published any such interview with a Czechoslovak politician. Stanislav Stepanek replies that "for every interview one needs two people, one who asks and one who replies." He concedes that such an interview "would be badly needed" for the Czechoslovak people to see that "their representatives are people of flesh and blood" and he voices the hope that "one day such an interview will see the light of day on the pages of HALO SOBOTA."

In conclusion, RUDE PRAVO characterizes the atmosphere in which the aforementioned discussion took place. It deplores that, while the RUDE PRAVO journalists present "showed their sincere endeavor to reply to every well-intended question, not everyone who came to the meeting with them showed the same interest. For the sake of truth one must say that some participants even forgot civilized behavior and even tried to provoke an atmosphere of confrontation in the hall, which is incompatible with the purpose of such meetings."

Mine Waters Pollute River Ohre

AU2909093289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Subterranean Waters Pollute Ohre"]

[Text] Karlovy Vary—Due to torrential rain in the Sokolov district on Monday [25 September], subterranean waters were discharged from the Jiri and Druzba quarries, part of the 25 February Vresova Fuel Combine mining concern, into the River Ohre. These waters contain undissolved clay elements which have a colloid nature and which cause a brownish discoloring of the water.

According to the Czech Water Economy Inspectorate, a high level of mechanical impurities is not involved in the Karlovy Vary site. Despite this, the accident on the Ohre, obviously, led to the water treatment plant which serves Ostrov v Radosove in the Karlovy Vary district to be temporarily put out of operation. In light of the repeated emission of subterranean waters, which had already occurred in spring of this year, the Czech Water Economy Inspectorate is considering increasing sanctions against the culprits.

U.S. Policy on Arms Control Analyzed

LD2809162489 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1715 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Gerd Kurze commentary]

[Excerpts] It is a reflection of the qualitatively new chapter in Soviet-U.S. relations, as Eduard Shevardnadze characterized the level of his talks with James Baker in yesterday's interview with IZVESTIYA, that on two consecutive days an American and a Soviet politician come up with disarmament proposals in their addresses to the United Nations that go in the same direction. That inspires hope, hope that in the foreseeable time ahead both sides will reveal what lethal chemicals they have in store, that they will succeed in convincing each other and suspicion in this disarmament sector will vanish as inspections take place on either side, and also that a great deal of their poison gas amassed over the past decades will be eliminated without the precondition of a successful conclusion to the more complicated process of reaching agreement among the large group of countries also boasting chemical weapons. [passage omitted]

In this respect, it appears to me, the Soviet and American ideas of chemical disarmament are identical. There are in fact differences, however. While the United States intends to maintain a fair percentage of its chemical weapons, the Soviet Union wants them down to zero. President Bush failed to even mention the issue of cancelling the production of chemical weapons, unlike Shevardnadze who explicitly called for it. He referred to the so-called binary weapons in particular, the large-scale production of which the United States had begun in 1987. The USSR, official declarations say, has done without them.

The United States and Bush himself too, in fact, during his term as vice president, have made chemical weapons the subject of grand declarations, invariably with the reservation, however, that by American interpretation whatever chemical disarmament agreed upon would not affect the binary weapons that the United States had for years been holding ready for production. At the Geneva disarmament conference, where more than 15 years have been spent on producing an international convention banning chemical weapons, it was indicated last year already that an agreement was very close, albeit excluding the new chemical weapons.

What is becoming apparent here is a line of U.S. arms control policy that has also come to the fore in both the Geneva negotiations on nuclear weapons and the Vienna negotiations on conventional forces in Europe. With regard to the latter, that approach was explicitly recommended yesterday by the American NATO commander in chief in Europe, John Galvin. He advised NATO governments at the negotiating table in Vienna to merely approve of the removal of the oldest of weapons there are. That would certainly mean at least some disarmament, and regarding the chemical weapons it would even result in an 80 percent removal as proposed by President Bush. At the same time, however, we must not ignore the danger of large stocks of old weapons simply being replaced by smaller amounts of new ones. Armament would thus continue, and the aim of all-out and comprehensive disarmament could well be postponed indefinitely.

Delegations for 40th Anniversary Listed

LD2809225189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1747 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Further leading politicians from numerous countries have stated that they are to participate in the festivities on the 40th anniversary of the GDR. The following are to head the respective delegations:

People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Mongolian People's Republic:

Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Hungarian People's Republic:

Professor Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Socialist Republic of Vietnam:

Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party.

People's Democratic Republic of Yemen:

'Ali Salim al-Bid, secretary general of the Yemen Socialist Party.

Democratic People's Republic of Korea:

Yon Hyong-muk, member of the Workers' Party Central Committee Political Bureau, prime minister of the Administration Council of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Lao People's Democratic Republic:

Phoumi Vongvichit, member of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Political Bureau, acting president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

Communist Party of Chile:

Volodia Teitelboim, secretary general of the Communist Party of Chile.

Socialist Party of Chile:

Clodomiro Almeyda, secretary general of the Socialist Party of Chile.

Republic of India:

Vithal Gadgil, general secretary of the All-Indian Congress Committee of the Indian National Congress (I).

Brazilian Communist Party:

Salomao Malina, general secretary of the Brazilian Communist Party.

Brazilian Workers' Party:

Olivio Dutra, chairman of the Brazilian Workers' Party.

Communist Party of Argentina:

Patricio Echegaray, secretary general of the Communist Party of Argentina Central Committee.

Communist Party of Denmark:

Ole Sohn, chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark.

Communist Party of Ecuador:

Rene Mauge, secretary general of the Communist Party of Ecuador Central Committee.

Communist Party of Finland:

Jarmo Wahlstroem, chairman of the Communist Party of Finland.

Communist Party of Finland (Unity):

Jouko Kajanoja, chairman of the Communist Party of Finland (Unity) Central Committee.

Communist Party of Ireland:

Michael O'Riordan, national chairman of the Communist Party of Ireland.

Communist Party of Luxembourg:

Rene Urbany, chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg.

Communist Party of Norway:

Kaare Andre Nilsen, chairman of the Communist Party of Norway.

Party of the Left (Communist) of Sweden:

Lars Werner, chairman of the Party of the Left (Communist) of Sweden.

Swedish Communist Workers's Association:

Rolf Hagel, chairman of the Swedish Communist Workers' Association.

Ilmenau-Homburg Town Twinning Agreement Ratified

AU2909093689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Sep 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Ilmenau-Homburg Town-Twinning Agreement"]

[Text] Homburg—On Tuesday [26 September], the town-twinning agreement between Ilmenau, in Thuringia, and the city of Homburg, Saarland, was ratified. At a festive council meeting in Homburg, Ilmenau Mayor Peter Bischoff and Homburg Mayor Reiner Ulmcke signed the town-twinning document. The two mayors spoke out in favor of contributing to securing peace and developing good- neighborly relations between the GDR and the FRG at the local level in the future.

Citizens Detained at Border With Poland

LD2809154689 Hamburg DPA in German 1216 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—Many GDR citizens have been detained at the GDR border with Poland under the suspicion of intending to leave the GDR without the necessary papers. It was reported from the border area on Thursday that several hundred GDR citizens are supposed to have attempted in the last few days to flee to the neighboring socialist country via the green border. The objective is clearly the Bonn embassy in Warsaw.

In the communities of Bruessow, Pampow, and Loecknitz there is news that up to Wednesday evening at least 90 people had been detained by police and border guards. In the meantime, soldiers of the National People's Army are said to have been deployed to stop possible refugees.

Private trips to Poland have to be permitted by the GDR authorities. The necessary travel papers can only be obtained after an invitation has been received and this has been checked. It is said that distinctly fewer visits to Poland have been permitted in the past weeks in the Mecklenburg communities. According to these reports several citizens have swum across the Oder and the Neisse to get to Polish territory. [passage omitted]

New Forum Leader Rejects 'Antisocialist' Claim

LD2909092689 Hamburg DPA in German 0732 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] Cologne (DPA)—Rolf Henrich, cofounder of the "New Forum" in the GDR, has rejected the accusation of East Berlin Minister of State Security Erich Mielke that the group is antisocialist. Henrich said on Deutschlandfunk radio today, according to the station, that this was another attempt to reduce the variety of political life to a very simple friend-foe relationship. It cannot be assumed from "New Forum's" founding appeal that they are against socialism. However, Henrich said, the group certainly has a different type of socialism in mind than

Mielke. Henrich announced that "New Forum" wants to continue to operate as a citizens' initiative.

Yesterday [28 September] Mielke had said that in refusing to allow "New Forum" in the GDR the state has "given all antisocialist forces a clear answer."

Update on Number of Dissident Arrests in Leipzig

LD2809155289 Hamburg DPA in German 1114 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—Apparently more people than originally thought were arrested in Leipzig following the peace prayers on 11 September, including signatories of the GDR-wide citizens' initiative "New Forum." It was announced this evening at a service of intercession in the East Berlin Samaritans church that at least 17 people known by name have been in custody since then. Additionally, there are apparently another six people who were transported away by the police on 18 September from the front of the Nikolai Church.

Among the people in custody, for whom church services and solidarity events took place in over a dozen towns, are Udo Hartmann and Carola Bornschlegal, both workers for the Leipzig "Initiative Group Life", and Kathrin Hattenhauer, also a cosignatory of the "New Forum." [passage omitted]

Horn Discloses Agreement on GDR Refugees

LD2909113989 Budapest MTI in English 1030 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] New York, September 29 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, currently attending the UN General Assembly in New York, told MTI about the agreement reached with Oskar Fisher, foreign minister of the GDR. This states that the issue of GDR citizens wishing to resettle in the FRG will be handled separately from bilateral issues in order to avoid these influencing ongoing cooperation. Mr Horn reported that the relevant articles of the 1969 tourism agreement will remain on ice as long as there are GDR citizens in Hungary who do not wish to return home.

Mr Horn also had talks with the foreign minister of Mongolia and Bulgaria, and these revealed that there is mutual interest in the changes taking place in the various countries. Agreements were also reached for holding further consultative discussions.

Mr Horn also held discussions with the foreign ministers of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland. These Scandinavian countries are ready to speed up the conclusion of pending agreements on the protection of investments and the avoidance of double taxation in order to support the development of economic ties, Mr Horn said.

From among the EC countries, Mr Horn held consultations with the foreign ministers of the FRG, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland and Greece. Mr Horn said it was an important and favourable development that each of his negotiating partners had assured him of their support for the requests the Hungarian Government submitted to the EC Commission: For instance, the request to enable Hungary to conclude a free-trade agreement with the Community, to be allowed to join the European Investment Bank, and to abolish quotas on Hungarian exports at an earlier date than envisaged.

Discussions held with representatives of developing countries, including Algeria, the republic of Cape Verde, and Chile, were termed as important by Mr Horn. The talks focussed on international economic and political relations free of ideological boundaries. It was pointed out by the Algerian side that there are similar reform processes taking place in Algeria to those in Hungary, and so the pooling of experiences is of particular importance.

Mr Horn was also received by UN General Secretary, Javier Perez de Cuellar. The view was shared by the sides that Hungary is not adequately represented among UN officials, and senor de Cuellar offered his assistance in this.

Mr Horn is due to leave for Hungary on Friday afternoon following further talks.

Assembly Dissociates Itself From CSSR Invasion

LD2809205689 Budapest MTI in English 2000 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 28 (MTI)—On Thursday in Budapest, parliament adopted a statement condemning Hungarian participation in the 1968 intervention in Czechoslovakia. The statement was drafted on the initiative of Janos Sebok, MP for Veszprem county, and presented to parliament by the foreign affairs committee.

The statement says that, observing the principle of sovereignty, starting out from the necessity of safeguarding national security and the need for cooperation between states and peoples on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantages and taking into consideration the recent lessons of Hungarian history, the Hungarian National Assembly disassociates itself from the decision, under which Hungarian military units were unlawfully directed to Czechoslovakia in August 1968, thereby interfering in the internal affairs of a neighbour country and also violating Hungarian national interest. It rejects intervention in other countries' domestic affairs on the grounds that every country has a right to set its course of social development and ways for settling internal conflicts. It condemns the participation of Hungarian Armed Forces in the August military intervention without parliamentary consent.

At the same time, it is recalled that during bilateral and multilateral talks, Hungary's then political leadership repeatedly called for a peaceful settlement of disputes and the creation and strengthening of social consensus in Czechoslovakia through dialogue. The Hungarian National Assembly declares its conviction that means of force should be eliminated from inter-state relations, and welcomes the declaration of Soviet leaders in favour of non-aggression and upholds the efforts of the Hungarian Government to set up the necessary international guarantees.

Parliament reconfirms that, in the interest of good cooperation between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, it will continue to encourage unlimited expansion of many-sided relations.

CSSR Criticizes Statements

LD2909102889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 29 Sep 89

[Text] According to the Czechoslovak Party paper, the Hungarian National Assembly interfered in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia, when in a communique yesterday it distanced itself from the intervention 21 years ago.

The article says that the legislation, just like the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Political Executive Committee earlier, takes the events of 1968 out of their historic context and what is more, it does it without having previously consulted the Czechoslovak Party.

The rest of the Prague papers in their evaluations state that the earlier Hungarian statements had already distorted the description of Czechoslovak events 2 decades ago and that the Hungarian authorities are not competent to evaluate the events of that time.

Trade Official on Effects of Soviet Oil Troubles

LD2809164189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] According to the Soviet deputy minister of the oil industry, the Soviet mineral oil industry is in a catastrophic situation, because the economic reforms are not well-considered. [passage omitted]

[Presenter] I wonder how this news affects the domestic supply. What can be expected in the near future? I put this question to (Laszlo Timar), head of the Main Department in the Ministry of Trade:

[Begin recording] [(Timar)] This aforementioned (?big) market decline makes up some two percent of Soviet mineral oil production. So, from this viewpoint, it cannot be seen as an enormous setback.

[Presenter] They have already up until now reduced deliveries to Hungary.

[(Timar)] They have not reduced mineral oil deliveries. Mineral oil deliveries are taking place in accordance to the daily determined quantity, also at present. There are backlogs in gas deliveries, which is one consequence of the national gas shortage that has existed in the Soviet Union since the spring. But we have a promise from our partner that in the remaining part of the year they will also make up the gas deliveries.

[Presenter] Have you thought about what possibility there would be in case the situation there takes a turn for the worse?

[(Timar)] Naturally, it depends on the extent of the difficulty that arises. We have contracts for this oil delivery. At the present moment there is no indication from the part of the seller that we can expect the appearance of a backlog that would cause difficulty for us. If it does happen, then its extent will decide what further measures are necessary, which will obviously be examined by the leaders here responsible for Hungarian energy supply.

[Presenter] What sort of things could come into question?

[(Timar)] Only one case could come into question, whether the Hungarian production could be somewhat reduced in accordance to this, or if it has to be reduced. Or whether, if necessary, we can get the crude oil from other markets.

[Presenter] What kind of markets are we talking about?

[(Timar)] We can get crude oil exclusively from capitalist countries. [end recording]

State Minister on Differing MSZMP Platforms

LD2809192189 Budapest MTI in English 1814 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 28 (MTI)—The reform communists differ from the communists in so far as the former have covered the road from socialist democracy to democratic socialism, while the latter still declare the necessity of a proletarian dictatorship and a party following the Bolshevik course, State Minister Imre Pozsgay said to journalists in parliament on Thursday.

Mr Pozsgay said he did not expect a Stalinist force to gain sufficient influence to take over the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP]. He confirmed he did not wish to be a member of the Stalinist party.

Asked whether he considers himself a communist or a social democrat, Mr Pozsgay said he observes the draft manifesto which was worked out under his guidance with reliance on European political values.

Three markedly different platforms are expected to emerge at the party congress, Mr Pozsgay said, and circles to the left of centre do not have much support. The draft manifesto he presented elicited a favourable response from a relatively wide circle and various reform platforms are to figure prominently.

Abolition of the party-state system includes a change in symbols. In future, the five-pointed star will cease to be a state symbol, and state buildings will no longer be decorated by a red star or cross, Mr Pozsgay said.

Answering a question, the state minister stressed he saw little likelihood for a centrist core to develop around Rezso Nyers, Karoly Grosz and Janos Berecz. He also said that his forthcoming Moscow trip has no connection with the party congress as the agreement on the visit was concluded earlier.

Deputies' Proposals Put to Parliament

LD2809223189 Budapest MTI in English 2035 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 28 (MTI)—During the parliamentary session in Budapest on Thursday, MP Frigyes Tallossy (Budapest) proposed parliament should take a stand on the Hungarian Government decision related to the GDR citizens' leaving for the FRG. Mr Tallossy pointed out that the humanitarian measure met with recognition and understanding in most countries and the reaction of domestic public opinion was also favourable. The MP proposed parliament should express its appreciation to the government and encourage further similar moves. The motion was accepted.

The president of the session announced that Zoltan Kiraly, MP for Szeged, had presented his proposal on the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Europe to the parliament's foreign affairs committee and indicated he would submit it to the Septembe. session. As the

foreign affairs committee was of the opinion that the proposal should be discussed at a joint session with the defence committee, scheduled for October 12, the proposal can only go before parliament in October. Mr Kiraly agreed to the decision.

Minister Karpati Discusses Role of Armed Forces

LD2809133989 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Relay of Hungarian National Assembly session in Budapest on 28 September on interpellation by deputy Erno Raffay to Hungarian Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

[Acting speaker Mrs. Robert Jakab] Our fellow deputy Dr Erno Raffay will make an interpellation to the defense minister on the matter of military political issues. My fellow deputy Dr Erno Raffay has leave to speak.

[Raffay] Esteemed house, esteemed minister of defense. The interpellation which I address to you consists of four points. The four points are connected with one another. They are all issues of military politics.

The first point: In the present internal and external political situation, which is extremely heightened, certain neighboring countries, observing the domestic political changes in Hungary and Hungary's latest foreign political initiatives, are not deterred even from political blackmail and military threats. It is particularly important to safeguard under all circumstances the defense strength of the People's Defense Army—or rather of the Hungarian People's Army as it is still called. What I ask, Mr minister, is whether the army's defense strength and intactness can be guaranteed, and if so in what way—in today's internal political conditions, which all of us know—with special regard to the economic restrictions affecting the army?

The second point of my interpellation is as follows: General Jozsef Pacsek, head of the army's chief of staff, on 19th of this month stated before staff members of the press—and no doubt you all read this in the papers on the 20th—that we have to regard as an alarming rumor the military action aimed against Hungary by our Romanian ally—I said it in quotation marks, though legally there is no doubt about it. The chief of staff stated verbatim, and I quote: Trust between the Hungarian and Romanian military leadership is unbroken; relations are continuous. End quote. Knowing who is, or rather who are, the commanders of the Romanian armed forces, I ask you, mr. minister, to be so kind as to explain what is meant by the statement of the chief of staff about this certain unbroken trust, and in what specific ways does this show?

I have another question here: I have become the deputy to the population living along the Romanian border. Alluding to the constant enquiry of this population, I ask whether the Hungarian military leadership has taken the necessary measures to counterbalance an eventual Romanian military invasion? There was one such in 1916, which the Hungarian military leadership had not been counting on.

The third point of my interpellation goes like this: The countries of the Warsaw Pact have today stepped onto different political paths, and debates are being conducted on this matter even at the highest levels. I consider it very essential what standpoint is taken by the Warsaw Pact's military leadership in regard to the present political situation in Central Europe. I ask the defense minister to give an account to the National Assembly, if possible, as to what positions—be it leading positions, in any case what possibilities for a say—does the Hungarian Army have within the Warsaw Pact.

When I read out the fourth point of my interpellation, I think once again there will be murmurings in the hall. According to the knowledge of the country's population, the last time the Hungarian Army was used outside the country's borders was in 1968, in overrunning [lerohanas] Czechoslovakia. According to certain reports, because such have reached me as well, Hungarian soldiers are supposed to have taken part, since then as well—first and foremost in the Far Eastern theaters of war—in keen [eles] battles. Does this information accord with the truth? Thank you very much.

[Jakab] Ferenc Karpati, minister of defense, replies to the interpellation.

[Karpati] Esteemed National Assembly. Our fellow deputy Raffay has posed questions concerning foreign policy, strongly concerning foreign policy, and questions concerning military policy. Naturally, these questions are closely interconnected, thus I will in fact only allude to the foreign political part.

I would like to correct his remark: in a heightened foreign political situation, by saying that, in my view, we are seeing precisely tendencies toward detente, and we hope that this will continue. But it shines out from his question that he is not thinking about generally heightened foreign politics, but about neighboring countries—and only some of them, at that.

The polemics and problems, already existing ones and new ones, are known. The chosen path which we have proclaimed in Hungary which we are creating with cardinal laws, the change of model, and the introduction of radical reforms, naturally this has not started in every allied country. There are divergences.

However, the problems do not appear in an identical way in every country. It is well known that in the GDR they appear on account of tourism, in Czechoslovakia they are due to the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros [water barrage]. And the situation is different with Romania, which extends back over a longer period, and unfortunately the relations between the two countries have become heightened.

This is primarily because of the rough violation of human rights, of nationality rights, in Romania; the forced assimilation, which has likewise accelerated; the destruction of villages, and finally, the large numbers of refugees, among whom one can find citizens not only of Hungarian nationality, but also many of Romanian nationality and mother tongue.

This has indeed created a very heightened situation between the two countries. Nor has the situation improved recently either. We consider that our country's consistent activity and efforts to ensure that relations between the two countries should be settled by political means, that this is the correct, the only correct, the treadable path.

On the basis of this we can see that big important international organizations, and international public opinion in general as well, are more and more raising their voices; they support us. Only recently, yesterday to be precise, we heard that the European Council wants to find out for itself the facts of the R manian situation.

With regard to the military threat, I would like to say that we are not now living the times of the beginning of the century here in Europe, in no respect whatever. Certain pronouncements cannot prompt us to take immediate steps which could perhaps be followed immediately by countersteps, thus causing an escalation. This must be avoided!

However, the government, the National Assembly, and within this the military leadership, have a very serious and great responsibility in this regard, which is that they should keep in view precise military factors which accord with the demands of the prsent age, and that they should have continuous and reliable knowledge of them. For this we have every condition and possibility at our disposal. Today's tools are very modern tools for this.

If it pleases the National Assembly, I state with responsibility that so far we have seen no reason why, in this regard, we should have taken a step in the military field which would bring in its wake a more stepped-up preparedness in contrast to those hitherto. As long as we see no reason for such a step, I would like to stress that we have to avoid it.

One wonders, in that case, how one is to judge the situation between the two countries in this military context. I have been wondering, so that I would not have to enter into a lengthy explanation, how I could make our relationship understandable. When relations are so tense between the two countries, it is natural that relations are cooler in the military sphere as well.

We have for many years had an invitation for the top military leadership to visit Romania. A few years ago we thought that perhaps it would be expedient to take up the invitation, hoping that the situation would take a turn for the better. So we postponed it. Today, on the other hand, we are expressly of the opinion that the present time is not suitable for a visit.

I think that I have sufficiently intimated that relations really are cool between the military as well.

We belong to one alliance and we have common tasks. We have a common task in safeguarding the airspace; We have a common task in performing various military tasks. Just as cooperation is good in the spheres of the economy and of trade, I have to say that cooperation is also undisturbed in regard to the development, acquisition, and manufacture of military technology.

It is in this respect, and not between soldiers, that the dispute is taking place between the two countries. It was in this respect that the head of our chief of staff made his statement, that there is no hitch in the performance of the tasks, which of course are very important, especially in regard to air defense.

Otherwise, on the question of what kind of pronouncements are made by a few persons, a few leaders, our opinion is that we do not necessarily have to make an absolute generalization from these.

In today's news we heard, and we could read in the papers, Ilie Ceausescu's latest invectives. We know him. He describes himself as a historian. He is extremely productive. Papers pour forth from his pen. We know all of them precisely. A few years ago, when he was here in our Military History Museum, he objected to the display of early maps. I asked him: Well, if you are an historian, should we repaint them? History cannot be repainted. I judge him to be an historian whose writing, in the large mass of his works, is unhistorical, untruthful, and abusive. That which we can read also in today's papers is offensive.

According to my experiences, however, they should not be generalized.

I am pleased that my fellow deputy has broached the issue—since I have to say that it is a rarity nowadays—of how the intactness of the Hungarian People's Army can be judged after the large-scale budget deductions. I imagine that you will not be suprised at my answer. These large-scale deductions, deductions to date to the tune of 18 percent of what is earmarked in our current 5-year plan, have of course raised an enormous number of problems and difficulties. This is very considerable—not to mention inflation, which is extra. If we add it, then this skimming of funds is considerably more.

I consider it necessary to inform the National Assembly that with regard to this matter, it is not a juggling act that we have implemented. We have taken it as our point of departure that when the allocations were worked out for this 5-year plan—military technology development, modernization, and figuring among these were devices that also accorded with the previous conception—the abandoning of these constituted the least problem. If such a situation had not developed in the country, with all certainty there would have still been talk of abandoning very many such devices. A great proportion

sensitively affected the Hungarian Army. It was necessary to postpone—I should like to stress not once and for all but temporarily—devices which are absolutely necessary in the interest of the army's military calibre, because it was necessary to replace obsolete devices, aircraft, transport devices, and telecommunications devices. We cannot continue this postponement for too long, because this would impinge on the army's combat readiness.

These already give rise to problems and difficulties at present too. If things were to be prolonged for very long it would be a serious problem. Now it is still bearable.

It has been necessary to effect considerable measures which caution us to being thrifty in the spheres of preparation and training. I have to say that it is not cheap to carry out a live firing exercise; it costs several hundreds of millions [currency not specified]. To abandon it cannot be done forever. Such thriftiness however is now taking place.

What has most sensitively affected the army, although we have taken great care regarding this, is the improvement of the force's service and living conditions. Please, I do not want to go into this in detail. Yesterday, I very attentively listened to the point raised by our fellow deputy regarding the issue of payment, or taxation, of obligatory overtime work. In order not to mislead, what occurred to me was that since I have been an officer in this army, the army's officers have always worked overtime, not just to any degree. Of course, it is said that this is what is entailed, but there is a normal limit to this, too.

They go for weeks on exercises and on our Varpalota exercise ground; even during the hottest summer the wind goes through one's bones and they are far away from their families. With our current tools, it is not possible to carry out every task on Hungarian territory—I shall raise the point that missile live firing maneuvers can only be carried out by us on the endless steppes of Kazakhstan—and they are away for long weeks. There is no kind of compensation for their being away and being under such demands.

In answer to the question of whether the Hungarian Army is intact: it is intact. I can tell the National Assembly this with responsibility. Our present equipment and weapons are appropriate for this. As I have said, what we have prepared for cannot be abandoned for a long time. However, I would like to tell the National Assembly that the main basis for the Hungarian Army being intact is our professional force. Their devotion, their readiness to make sacrifices in the interest of defending this people, this homeland, remains unbroken. Although they do without many things, although they have to renounce many things, they accept and complete their tasks. The spirit of the army is good, its discipline and degree of organization is high.

I am saying this not because we are now coming up to Armed Forces' Day; I am safely telling the National Assembly that our people can trust the Hungarian Army.

What is our role in the Warsaw Pact? How can we have a say in it? The Warsaw Pact organization is not only a military, grouping, it is also a political and military alliance. Its highest body is made up of the highest political-state leaderships of the individual member countries, at which basic decisions can be passed—like now in the summer, for example. With regard to the military organization itself, the Warsaw Pact consists of sovereign countries. Without the government, no decision concering the Hungarian Army can be made anywhere.

Regarding the fellow deputy's question, I imagine that something quite concrete and tangible lies behind the question of why this matter arose at all. I imagine that problems stemming from earlier times may lie here. Please note that there are basic changes as regards perception as well, concerning which the chariman of our delegation, Comrade Rezso Nyers, said very clearly and unequivocally at the Bucharest consultation: The Brezhnev doctrine has ceased to exist, once and for all. It has ceased to exist because of the transformation process, which we greatly welcome and support, which is taking place in the Soviet Union and in several other countries, too.

Thus, as a sovereign country, the Hungarian Government is in command of the Hungarian national army. Figuring in the cardinal laws are new formulations—which we shall discuss—in the amendment to the Constitution, where Parliament's say and its decision will considerably increase. Well, that is for the future, but I can safely state now that we can build on it.

As to the fourth point: I was not (?ready) for it, that is true. Well, I can say that it is without foundation. It is not proper for the minister to ask whether you believe these allegations, but the question has arisen and it is my duty to reply.

The question of whether Hungarian soldiers are taking part in fighting in the Far East, does not cause the most pleasure, and I imagine that this affects the Hungarian Government and the military leadership quite badly. The concept of Far East is broad; it covers many countries. Fighting is not going on everywhere, nor shall I ask which country you are thinking of. I can say that in the past, many years ago, on the basis of the Paris decision and by request, Hungarian officers participated in the supervisory committee in Vietnam. They did not take part in fighting, but at international request, they were meeting their obligation.

At present, at the request of the United Nations, some are active in Iraq as UN soldiers, in the interest of peace, where as supervisors, they are meeting their obligations.

I reiterate that this supposition is a little hurtful, but since many things have arisen today I thought it was necessary to ask the fellow-deputy and the National Assembly to accept my reply. [applause]

[Jakab] I thank the minister for his exhaustive reply. I now ask fellow-deputy Dr Erno Raffay whether he accepts the minister's reply?

[Raffay] I thank the minister for his reply. It was exhaustive, although I expected more details regarding the third point, the Warsaw Pact. Regarding the fourth point, I have to say that—I said this yesterday, by the way—causing offense and hurt is far from my intention. Many people had asked me this, and I decided to put the question. I have now been given the reply. I accept all four points of the reply. Thank you.

[Jakab] I ask whether the National Assembly accepts the minister's reply. Please vote. I declare the decision: the deputy who made the interpellation agreed with the minister's reply. The National Assembly has accepted the reply with 313 votes in favor, 2 against, and 6 abstentions. [applause] [passage omitted]

Council of Ministers Plans Future Meetings

LD2809021989 Budapest MTI in English 1909 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 27 (MTI)—In the break of the Wednesday parliamentary session in Budapest the members of the Council of Ministers held a 30-minute discussion.

The government spokesman's office informed MTI that the talks covered the international programme of the prime minister and other members of the government.

Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth is scheduled to meet his Czechoslovak colleague, Ladislav Adamec in the first half of October. The date of the meeting is to be decided.

Prime Ministers Lothar Spaeth of Baden-Wurttemberg and Max Streibl of Bavaria are to arrive in Budapest for a brief working discussion in the first week of October.

Mr Nemeth told MTI's correspondent that he was to meet an invitation to London in December and to the Netherlands early next year. He said he would also visit to Israel.

Exchange of Letters Between Church, Nemeth

AU2609162689 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 24 Sep 89 p 4

["Sche" report: "Hungary: Communist Party Premier Wants Alliance With Churches—Red Stars Will Be Removed"]

[Excerpt] Budapest—After years of silence, an exchange of letters has taken place between Hungary's churches and Communist Premier Miklos Nemeth, who advocates reforms; an exchange of letters which may be of decisive importance for the rapprochement between the churches and the Communists in Hungary.

The occasion for the exchange of letters, in which Nemeth expresses the hope for a "strategic alliance" with the churches, was the exodus of the GDR refugees via Hungary to Austria and from there to the FRG. Both documents are available to WELT AM SONNTAG.

The letter from the churches, which was written before the final opening of the borders, says: "The leaders and members of the Hungarian churches are following with concern, compassion, and helpfulness the fate of the GDR citizens in our country, who do not want to return to their homeland. Therefore, in sympathy with our government, we, the leaders of the Hungarian Roman Catholic, Reformed, Evangelical, Baptist, Methodist, and Orthodox Churches, want to make any contribution to the speedy solution of the matter.

"We pray for the humanitarian and satisfactory solution of the matter and hope that the efforts of our government will be successful."

The letter was signed by, among others, Cardinal Archbishop Laszlo Paskai and Gyula Nagy, chairman of the Evangelical bishops.

In his answer to the churches Premier Nemeth wrote, among other things:

"In particular, I would like to thank you for the helpful attitude of the churches toward the GDR citizens who want to move to the FRG. With this, you have helped thousands of people in their difficult situation and, at the same time, you have helped our government in solving a situation, which has given rise to serious tensions and concern. Altruistic help for one's fellow-men is not only a moral duty but also an imperative in implementing the basic human rights. The Hungarian Government has been guided by both in its independent and sovereign decision."

In the two last paragraphs of his letter, Nemeth presents a far-reaching offer for cooperation of the churches, which is considered sensational by observers. It says:

"We can now open ever new chapters in the cooperation between the churches and the government. I am confident that these steps will consolidate our cooperation to a strategic alliance in the struggle for achieving such common goals as the peaceful character of a democratic change and political stability in building the future society." [passage omitted]

Finance Minister Holds Washington Talks

AU2809145389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Sep 89 p 6

[PAP report: "International Finance Corporation Makes an Offer"]

[Text] Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy premier and minister of finance; Professor Witold Trzeciakowski, chairman of the Economic Council; and Wladyslaw Baka, chairman of the National Bank of Poland; met with William Ryrie, vice chairman of the International Finance Corporation.

The board of the corporation presented a program of aid for Poland. Their program was based on five main points:

—A program of investment, especially through joint ventures with foreign partners. This program has already begun with the initiation of agricultural funding, and work is continuing on several other projects.

—Assistance to be given to the Polish Government with the re- privatization of state enterprises.

—The creation of a new bank, or banks, with the participation of foreign private banks, with the aim of modernizing the finance sector in Poland, and the creation of a firm base for the development of a strong private enterprise sector.

—Technical help in the organization of a capital market in Poland.

—Help in creating advisory services for Polish enterprises, and especially for the newly created ones.

The Polish side expressed interest in the suggestions for cooperation, which were in agreement with the general plan for reform.

It was decided that the proposals would be considered and detailed proposals would be produced as soon as possible.

The organization "Advisory Services for Foreign Investment" [as published], jointly administered by the International Finance Corporation, would assist Poland in an advisory capacity in the sphere of attracting foreign capital investment.

It was announced in Washington that the International Finance Corporation had agreed on seven joint venture projects in Hungary and was examining six other propositions.

Among the accepted ventures is a banking venture with the participation of foreign partners.

The combined cost of the seven ventures will be $277 million, and the International Finance Corporation will be contributing $68 million.

Deputy Premier Balcerowicz, Professor Trzeciakowski, and Professor Baka met with U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady. The subject of the talks was the economic policies of the new Polish Government, and especially their internal and external aspects. Various forms of economic reforms in Poland and the need to secure foreign assistance were discussed. The atmosphere of the talks was favorable for Polish interests.

PAP Report

LD2509231189 Warsaw PAP in English 2211 GMT 25 Sep 89

[By PAP Jerzy Gorski and Tadeusz Jacewicz]

[Text] Washington, Sept. 25—The attention of the Washington session of the IMF and World Bank is focused on Poland, both at the group meetings of states and at the debates of various task-groups.

Poland's Vice-Premier and Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz, chairman of the Economic Council Minister Witold Trzeciakowski and President of the National Bank of Poland Wladyslaw Baka met American Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady to discuss the economic policy of the new Polish Government, focusing on its internal and external aspects. Discussed were various forms of the economic reform and the need for foreign economic assistance.

The interviews granted to PAP by politicians and experts participating in the conference allow for the concluson that there is no question as to whether grant assistance to Poland. However, the questions of the form and scope of the assistance and earlier or more distant dates of delivering it remain still open. The opinions are particularly divergent as to the latter problem. The prevailing one is that it will not be the matter of weeks but rather of months. Polish efforts aim at shortening to the minimum the provisional considerations of the programmes and work on them, at accelerating the pace and therefore the efficiency of the assistance.

Mazowiecki Meets d'Estaing on Western Aid

LD2909022289 Warsaw PAP in English 2251 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 28—France's ex-president and head of the union for the French Democracy Valery Giscard d'Estaing is continuing his Polish visit paid at the invitation from President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The goal of his visit is to talk about the scope of Western economic assistance for Poland with representatives of the Polish Government and this country's politicians.

On Thursday, d'Estaing was received by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Their talk focused on Poland's economic situation against the background of the programme of economy's stabilization and, in this context, the economic assistance from the West, and from the EC in particular. They also examined the possibilities to

develop regular contacts, including institutional ones, to help improve the long-term aid in restructuring the Polish economy.

On the same day, Valery Giscard d'Estaing met with PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. After the meeting, Rakowski told PAP that the French visitor presented his concepts concerning assistance to Poland and voiced an opinion that the assistance should not be conventional like the one in the past—in the form of credits or loans.

"Giscard d'Estaing suggested that an investment bank with the share of foreign capital should be opened in Warsaw to be managed also by Poles," Rakowski said.

The French ex-president also talked with leader of the citizens' parliamentary floor group and head of the Sejm foreign committee Bronislaw Geremek. In the wake of the talk Geremek told PAP that Mr Giscard d'Estaing's initiative to help Poland modernize her economy heeded the most important needs of this country.

"There is a question whether the institute for modernization of the Polish economy could be established with sufficiently high capital as a joint organization linking Poland and West Europe with the joint capital shares. The French visitor is optimistic about this," Geremek stated and added he hoped the plan Valery Giscard d'Estaing had forwarded to the European Parliament would meet with sufficiently strong financial support.

Foreign Trade Minister Seeks Aid in Brussels

AU2809144389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Sep 89 p 6

[Janusz Moszczynski report: "Polish Moratorium in the Matter of Foreign Aid"]

[Text] Marcin Swiecicki, minister of foreign economic cooperation, travelled to Brussels in connection with the opening of the second conference of 24 countries on cooperation for Poland and Hungary, due to start on 26 September.

He held working talks with high-ranking officials of the EEC Commission and gave them a memorandum from the Government of the Polish People's Republic on the matter of foreign aid.

The memorandum, among other things, contains a list of Polish requirements, namely, supplies of foodstuffs, agricultural supplies, medical supplies, and matters related to relieving the Polish economy of its indebtedness. It also specifies several courses of action which could be undertaken fairy rapidly, but whose effects will be spread over a much longer time. By this it means the guarantees to be given by the Western governments for investments, and credit guarantees for investors who are interested in doing business in Poland, but who are wary of doing so without the backing of such government guarantees. It also treats the question of making Western markets more accessible to Polish goods, the abolition of quotas, the reduction of tariffs, and easier access to finance from the European Investment Bank. The memorandum defines our needs in the sphere of environmental protection, scientific and technical exchange, and the training of managers and experts, all of which are crucial to the creation of modern market institutions in Poland.

The Polish memorandum was positively and favorably received by the EEC. Nevertheless, the EEC experts put many questions to the Polish minister, questions which stressed the fact that economic aid from abroad could not be a substitute for reform or curbing inflation. They pointed to the fundamental importance of taking specific steps that would bring the economic chaos in Poland under control, stop inflation, and stop the printing of worthless money. Without these measures the IMF and the World Bank will not accept the Polish adjustment program. This will ultimately decide whether the present aid program of the 24 countries would develop into something more than just a once-only relief program. Minister Swiecicki also met with Robert Urbain, Belgian minister for foreign trade. The possibilities of broadening cooperation were the subject of these talks.

Further Reportage on GDR Refugee Issue

Vogel Repeats Offer at Embassy

LD2809120289 Hamburg DPA in German 0956 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel again visited the FRG Embassy in Warsaw on this morning for talks. At the same time, Bonn's State Secretary Juergen Sudhoff held talks in the Polish Foreign Ministry. Vogel intended to ask the about 600 GDR refugees there for their response to his emigration proposal. He had offered them on Wednesday, as he had before in Prague, a guarantee of emigration within 6 months.

According to informed circles in Warsaw, the offer from the GDR lawyer was rejected by the refugees. They are demanding direct emigration to a Western country without the 6-months waiting period in the GDR. Today, only about 60-70 refugees emerged from the alternative quarters onto the embassy grounds to meet with Vogel. The refugees estimate that their numbers in Poland have swelled to 700.

Vogel himself did not wish to say anything today either about the content of his talks. In response to questions, he would only say that there are reports according to which the assurances given by him in Prague would not be honored. "These reports are incorrect," he said without giving details.

'Some' Refugees Accept Offer

LD2809143189 Hamburg DPA in German 1246 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Some of the around 600 GDR refugees in the German Embassy in Warsaw decided today to accept the offer from GDR lawyer Wolfgang Vogel and to return for the moment to the GDR. The refugees reported after new talks with Vogel in the embassy building that had assured them that they could emigrate from the GDR legally in 6-months' time at the latest. They could then also take with them their relatives still in the GDR and their possessions. As the refugees are distributed in several places of accommodation in Warsaw, it could not be established exactly how many refugees intend to accept this offer.

[Hamburg DPA in German at 1412 GMT on 28 September reports that "According to government circles, around 20-30 refugees in the Warsaw embassy have accepted Vogel's offer."]

'Around 50' Leave Embassy

LD2809164589 Hamburg DPA in German 1555 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Around 50 refugees have today left the Federal Republic's Embassy and the overflow accommodation in Warsaw and have returned to the GDR. They accepted the offer by the GDR lawyer Wolfgang Vogel, who assured them that they would receive permission to emigrate to the Federal Republic legally within 6 months and would then be allowed to take their possessions and relatives remaining in the GDR with them. Among those who got on the GDR bus in front of the Embassy this afternoon were several families with children. It was not clear in the first instance how long lawyer Vogel's offer is valid.

Today however new refugees came to the Embassy so that the number of around 550 to 600 will hardly have dropped. Many of the refugees had sought refuge in the Embassy weeks ago.

Many refugees who arrived today reported seeing GDR citizens being taken from the train to Szczecin. Some of those who continue to remain in the Embassy and the overflow accommodation entered Poland illegally. Many of them swam across the Neisse.

Almost 2,500 in FRG Embassy

LD2809194189 Hamburg DPA in German 1815 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Prague/Warsaw (DPA)—The GDR refugees in the grounds of the Federal Republic's Embassy in Prague will have to move still closer together. By this evening the number of people seeking refuge there had swollen according to estimates to almost 2,500. Throughout the day GDR citizens—mostly young people, including many young families with children—have been climbing over the two and half meter high iron fence into the grounds of the Palais Lobkowicz. In Warsaw the number of embassy refugees rose to around 550. The minister of state at Bonn's foreign Ministry, Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer (Free Democratic Party), who today inspected the Prague Embassy, told correspondents after leaving the Embassy this evening: "The situation is serious."

According to her, it must be possible to make the accomodation of the GDR citizens as humane as posisble. She did not answer the question as to whether an agreement on overflow accomodation for the GDR citizens is in sight in the talks with the government. According to the latest information, space in the tents is becoming more and more scarce. Men and women have separate accomodation and some of them already have to sleep "in shifts" because of lack of space. The lawn of the large garden has long been transformed into a mud patch. [passage omitted]

Skubiszewski Addresses United Nations

AU2809153889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Sep 89 p 7

[Speech by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly in New York on 25 September]

[Text] Mr Chairman! I convey to you warm congratulations on your appointment to the post of chairman of the 44th UN General Assembly session. I wish you success in performing this highly honorable function. The Polish delegation also conveys best wishes to the secretary general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, whom we had the honor of hosting in Poland recently. We wish to express our profound recognition and full support for his tireless work for the sake of reducing international tension and solving regional conflicts.

Mr Chairman! This assembly is meeting on the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. That war began in and against Poland as a result of an aggression committed by the Hitlerite government of Germany, in collusion with the Stalinist government of the Soviet Union. At the same time, these two governments concluded a series of agreements which provided for the partition of Poland and its liquidation as a state. The agreements also concerned the fate of other countries in our region. All these agreements went against international morality, treaties, and the firmly binding and fundamental rules of general international law. The agreements were therefore null and void from their very inception. Yet they were put into effect by their signatories, and thereby they brought about extreme suffering afflicting millions of people in that part of Europe.

I realize, Mr Chairman, that the General Assembly is no place for historical reminiscences. However, I have mentioned the war for three reasons. First, we must clarify fully and definitely what happened immediately before the war and during it. This is necessary in order to eliminate the influence some past events still exercise on

an essential part of our contemporary international relations and may continue to have that influence in the future.

It is also necessary to eliminate the impact of these events on the reaction of public opinion in the countries concerned. Second, the United Nations must prevent armed conflicts more effectively. In that respect, the record of this organization is far from perfect. Third, 50 years ago frontiers and territorial acquisitions were at stake. Today, the entire emphasis must be focused on the duty of all states not to question frontiers and to treat them as inviolable. Some recent debates on territorial issues have brought more harm than good.

Mr Chairman! The past year has seen many important and favorable changes on the international scene. The expansion of East-West relations, including between the United States and Soviet Union, is largely favorable. We perceive signs of rapprochement in the establishment of new contacts and expansion of cooperation in new spheres between the countries of eastern and western Europe. Poland has been and is taking energetic part in this trend. The extinguishing or easing of some regional conflicts also contributes to the general improvement in the international situation. The United Nations has recently been playing a major role in this development of events.

Poland supports the efforts of the Security Council and secretary general to solve regional conflicts by peaceful means. That is why Poland has sent its military units and observers to join the ranks of the UN peace and observation missions.

But let us look further afield. In the present, particularly favorable, juncture, our organization has a chance to map out ways of resolving the key problems which beset mankind.

These problems include the burden of the arms race, improving the standard of living, a prevention of the further deterioration of the natural environment, and issues of international law, especially the protection of human rights.

I will begin with the problem of armaments. We consider the most important matter to be their reduction, the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons, and the creation of an effective system of monitoring. The world needs new, far-reaching disarmament agreements that are the work of all states. They should apply to every sphere of armaments and every part of the world.

We believe that all states, whatever their size and strength, bear responsibility for disarmament. Without diminishing the obvious role of the major powers, each and every state should seek to initiate and promote disarmament measures, including steps of a unilateral character.

Poland has been active in this field for a long time. More than 30 years ago, the Polish Government submitted proposals for a nuclear-free zone in Europe. Although they did not materialize, they did introduce the very idea into diplomatic thinking and practice.

Poland is actively taking part in the work of the Geneva Disarmament Commission. We expect this work to culminate shortly in a balanced draft treaty to eliminate chemical weapons once and for all. The Paris conference of the countries that signed the 1925 Geneva Protocol confirmed the desire of many countries to conclude a treaty in this important sphere.

Naturally, Poland focuses its attention on Europe, but not only because it is a European country. In Europe, in spite of detente, we still have the largest concentration and, therefore, the heaviest confrontation of the armed forces of the two power blocs. Hence the Polish idea of making their military doctrines more defensive and less confrontational. Hence, also, the emphasis on political means of ensuring security, as opposed to purely military means.

During the recent meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states, these states reaffirmed their readiness to engage, together with other interested states, in a common search for agreements with a view to eliminating mass destruction weapons, radically reducing conventional armed forces and armaments, preventing the arms race from spreading to space, gradually limiting industrial production for military purposes, and significantly cutting military expenditures.

On its part, Poland has been making a specific contribution to the limitation of armaments in Europe. The Polish Government has decided to reduce our armed forces by the end of 1990 by some 40,000 soldiers, 850 tanks, 900 artillery pieces, 700 armored vehicles, and 80 combat aircraft, as well as other types of military technical equipment.

The Polish Government is also working on a new approach to regional disarmament in Europe. An expression of this is the plan to decrease armaments and increase confidence in central Europe (the Jaruzelski Plan).

This objective is also served by our participation in the talks by the 23 and 35 states in Europe. It is with satisfaction that we note the proposals made in regard to conventional forces in Europe at the "summit" session of the NATO Council. We are determined to do our utmost so that the first accord can be reached in 1990.

Mr Chairman! Now I am proceeding to the economic sphere, especially the standard of living. The gap between rich and poor countries is widening. Many countries are experiencing an economic regression, including Poland. In the long run, this situation will hurt everybody because it will lead to an eruption of social discontent on an unprecedented scale. The effects of such an upheaval may well cripple the interdependent world economy, because development has now become indivisible. What we need is a new consensus on growth and development. This would bring about an economic order that is more efficient and of greater service to all

groups of states, especially those that are underprivileged. We should reach such a consensus next year, during the special session of the General Assembly.

We should also work out and adopt an international development strategy for the 1990's.

The task for today is to coordinate the economic policies of countries so as to reduce instability and uncertainty, and strengthen international economic security.

We still face the global debt problem. Its magnitude and persistence and the massive damage it is causing the development process in debtor countries and the world economy is difficult to grasp. It was assumed that following a period of adaptation, the debtor countries would return to financial equilibrium and that they would once again experience growth and development. That assumption has not proven to be true. We are particularly disturbed by the lack of significant progress in solving the debt problem of countries whose national incomes are on a medium level. In the light of the Polish experience, I must tell you frankly that without a reduction in debts, national economic policies and austerity measures, no matter how vigorous and stringent, will remain mere pieces of paper.

Capital should be directed back to the debtor countries within the framework of an open system of international trade. Regulatory measures, which are socially painful, will probably fail if there is no support for them from outside. There is also a great need for multilateral programs. All this means that the problem of debts should receive more emphasis in the new strategy. In other words, the point is to have a strategy that combines debts with development.

I shall not deal at length with the economic problems of Poland. We realize that we must help ourselves. Nevertheless we are seeking a reasonable amount of foreign assistance.

At the same time, I can assure you that the process of making our foreign trade more liberal is at an advanced stage, and that a new customs tariff has taken effect this year. We also intend to modify our current status in GATT, so that we may be an equal partner for other countries.

Against this background, I would like to thank, on behalf of my government, all the countries that have responded to the recommendations of the Western economic summit and launched a special program of economic assistance for Poland. Allow me to say that that assistance transcends the realm of economic action. It has broader significance because it helps to overcome the division of Europe.

Mr Chairman! I also consider it necessary to say a few words about international law and human rights.

Apart from editing treaties, the General Assembly has its own ways of influencing the formulation of law. I have in mind the resolutions which establish norms of conduct for countries. Certain spheres of modern international law owe their existence to these initiatives of the Assembly.

However, the way the Assembly performs this role sometimes raises doubts, and possesses shortcomings. The organization and its members have not succeeded in halting the flood of resolutions and texts which profess to lay down the law. Frequently, the dividing line between what is law and what is not law is blurred. I think the use of resolutions in order to state what existing law says or to suggest new law should be more judicious. There is still a lot of room for improving the entire procedure. There should be broader preparatory work, less haste, more emphasis on solutions that have been agreed (as opposed to those imposed by the majority), and a far greater use of the professional help of experts. In this last regard, the Assembly could make greater use of the Committee on International Law.

This remark induces me to make a few observations about this body, which has rendered such services to international law.

The Committee on International Law has been set up, but there are still doubts about its composition, work methods, and results. Giving a political nature to the elections to the committee has brought certain negative consequences. There is a certain link between this problem and the value and status of the drafts prepared by the committee. As far as the choice of topics is concerned, one might suggest that the committee should avoid great legal issues of our times. Cautiousness is evidence of the committee's wisdom; nevertheless, greater imagination would help the legislative process. The committee ought to react to the global challenges we are facing. Only then will it be able to perform its tasks that stem from the UN Charter.

In the important sphere of settling disputes, Poland intends to adopt the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, in accordance with Article 38 of its Statute. In our opinion, the compulsory jurisdiction of this court should be supported and strengthened.

Poland attaches major importance to the implementation of human rights, therefore we intend to accede to some conventions which are not yet binding on us. In the first place, we intend to adopt the optional protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. We also look forward to the day when it will be possible for us to join the Council of Europe and accede to the European Convention on Human Rights.

We have launched the idea of protecting children's rights, and have initiated work on a convention on this topic. We hope the present session will adopt this convention.

Mr Chairman! Now I am proceeding to the last point, which is Polish foreign policy, seen against the background of our commitments that stem from the UN Charter and from the political changes now taking place in my country.

Poland possesses great military significance on account of its location. This has a bearing on the entire region. Yet I believe that one can control the consequences of this objective fact (or at least try to do so), so that Polish foreign policy may be firmly based on the fundamentals of external sovereignty and internal independence. Poland will do its best to maintain peace, freedom and good-neighborly cooperation in Europe.

In other words, we are not disregarding the facts, but we have a vision of peace and freedom in a region which, in contemporary history, has too often been an arena of conflict, division, and domination. If Poland is free and democratic, its geopolitical and geostrategic importance can and should be turned into an asset that supports peace and fosters freedom.

Until recently, the role of the ideological factor in international relations, at any rate in relations between many states, has been considerable. Now that role has been greatly reduced, and the present Polish Government welcomes this development. We shall strive for the total elimination of ideology from interstate relations, which does not mean that we reject international morality. Ideology and morality are different things. Morality and respect for the individual remain our highest values.

I am convinced that the present reform movement in Poland is a good omen for the world, particularly for Europe. The new Polish Government, under the imaginative leadership of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, has no intention whatsoever of upsetting the existing international order, especially one of its components, the mutual strategic security of the two superpowers. However, spheres of security can never mean spheres of influence. We think changes such as those now taking place in Poland permit the two great powers to abandon their long-standing confrontation in the heart of Europe.

The key issue of Polish political strategy is our relations with the Soviet Union. We shall respect the existing treaties, and we are firmly in favor of a mutual respect for national interests. Yet such a respect does not impose any limitations regarding a choice of and change in the system of government. In no way does the activity of the present Polish Government aimed at implementing our vital interests conflict with the interests of other states.

We wish to contribute to the recreation of a united Europe in which Poland should have its own place. The most recent step in that direction is our treaty with the European Economic Community. We highly appreciate the friendly and helpful attitude of the community under the chairmanship of France.

Politics cannot boil down to a mere application of some purported laws of history. Personally, I do not believe in the existence of such laws. Destiny is not in a hurry, but it is upon us, and Poland must shape its fate. We are counting on our friends in the United Nations.

Mazowiecki Receives BBC Polish Section Chief

LD2809213589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Today, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received the head of the Polish Section of the BBC, Eugeniusz Smolar, accompanied by editor Krzysztof Dorosz. The premier was acquainted with the program of celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the BBC's Polish broadcasts and conveyed to Eugeniusz Smolar good wishes and congratulations to the editorial team.

CSSR Daily Interviews PZPR's Rakowski

AU2809100389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Sep 89 pp 1,7

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava PRAVDA correspondent Pavol Minarik en route from Uniejow to Warsaw on 23 September: "On Poland and Cooperation With Us"]

[Text] Warsaw (our correspondent)—We had planned to conduct an interview like this earlier. A date for my meeting with Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski was, in essence, set twice. However, the fast pace of serious events in Poland postponed our meeting until Saturday, 23 September.

It was an atypical interview: It lasted for more than 200 km. It took place in the official car of the first secretary of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee, on the way from Uniejow, where he answered questions by the leadership of the Union of Polish Students, to Warsaw. M. Rakowski is known to our readers from public appearances and articles which we have been publishing in RUDE PRAVO for almost 10 years on various occasions and events connected with Poland. Today, Monday [25 September], the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee will arrive for a friendly working visit in Prague at the invitation of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski is 63 years old and from a worker's family. He began working in a railroad repair shop in Poznan. After the war he joined the Army and was an officer. Later, he worked in the party's Central Committee. Since 1958, that is for exactly a quarter of a century, he was chief editor of the Polish daily POLITYKA. In the 1981-85 period, he was deputy premier. Afterwards, he was deputy marshal of the Sejm, and later a member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. From October 1988 until July 1989, he was chairman of the Council of Ministers, and as of 31 July, that is, for less than 2 months, Comrade

Rakowski has been the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. Here is the interview:

[Minarik] You are heading a party which is entering new, unexplored waters of social development. What course are your ship and its crew taking?

[Rakowski] We have one course. We want to restore the party's trustworthiness in society. We want to make the PZPR, or the party which will come into being after the upcoming 11th Congress, a political force which will continue to determine Poland's socialist development. The main problem of the present is to find the answer to the question of how to strengthen the weakened party and its authority. This is an exceptionally difficult task. It requires the mobilization of all forces of the party, but also great courage. I do not see any other way. The course which we have set for our ship can yield a result, which is expected not only by us, but also by our friends and allies. Therefore, our party must now fight not for the people as a whole, but for every individual person. However, it must not do this by means of resolutions, decisions, and appeals, but with deeds. I see no other way.

[Minarik] The PZPR, and you personally, are known in our country as initiators of reforms and of bold steps clearing the way for new solutions to the existing antitheses of socialism. Are you not sorry that the present opposition has been taking over so much from your program, the opposition which wants to make political capital out of it?

[Rakowski] No, we are not sorry, because we said more than once—and I repeat it, being fully convinced of it—that for the party the interest of the nation is the uppermost interest. Should the reforms initiated by us be realized and yield the expected results for society—nothing can be more important than that. Of course, nobody is pleased to see that someone else is making political capital from what one started. However, if our standpoint is that the people's interests are vital, we have to reconcile ourselves to it. I do not like demagoguery, and therefore I also want to add that the new government dismisses [popira] what we have started. The truth, namely, is that important changes in the entire concept of economic development in Poland have occurred since last November. We adopted a number of progressive laws which regulate entrepreneurship abroad, we decided that citizens can keep their passports at home (until then they were kept at passport departments), and so forth. It was us who did all of this, and without that the Mazowiecki government would be in a considerably more difficult situation than it is now. However, I also know that the new cabinet its ministers, can quickly convince themselves that many problems exist in Poland, which neither rhetorics nor various radically introduced measures can solve. I was and remain a proponent of the reform of economic and social life, but I also know that life is exceptionally resistant to accepting new solutions, particularly when their effectiveness is not obvious beforehand. I also know that in the situation which has arisen in our country we must introduce reforms with restraint. Society is not ready to accept sudden steps which change its material situation, but also other situations, from day to day. Invoking Lenin, one has to say that habits constitute an immense force. They cannot be changed through laws, decrees, or strong words. Time and consistency are needed. This, of course, delays the introduction of reforms, but there is no other way. I regard myself as a realist and I also call on others to be realists and to respect what life brings and not what we figure out at a table or during sleepless nights.

[Minarik] You have begun preparing for the 11th Congress. What do you regard in those preparations to be of greatest importance for the strengthening of the party's authority in society, among the working people, and also in enterprises?

[Rakowski] Everything is connected with the overall concept of the upcoming congress. The basis of the concept is the election of the congress commission, to which we will nominate comrades who today represent various currents of thought in the party. Currently we have a favorable phenomenon. Political life is reviving, although not throughout the entire party, but in a part of its worker base and among the intelligentsia. We will strive to have this fresh blood represented in the congress commission. Another important task is preparing the party's political program, which already will have to take into consideration what has been achieved to date and, also, what has been occurring in Poland in the sphere of reforming the political and economic structures. It must be a program which will create conditions for various leftist groups to join the party, groups that are often active behind the party's official structures, but not against it. Finally, our program also must provide an answer—and this is the most difficult task—to what socialism in Poland is to look like at the end of this century. We must create a situation in which party members and candidate members will believe that the entire program was drafted, let's say, not by specialists from the party apparatus, but with the assistance of all leftist forces, which realistically assess the situation which has arisen in Poland.

[Minarik] Since not so long ago, the political map of Poland has changed. The opposition won elections and it has the majority in the government. Where on this map do you see the forces of the Polish left?

[Rakowski] It has been a tradition that there is the left and the right in every society. Under certain circumstances, the political influence of the left can weaken, and even can vanish. However, if we look at this phenomenon from the historical angle, the left existed, exists, and will exist. The problem rather is how to organize it as well as possible now. This, after all, is one of the most important tasks which faces us, the Polish Communists.

[Minarik] How do you exert influence on young people? How do you want to attract them?

[Rakowski] This is a great problem here in Poland. A considerable number of the young ones publicly manifest

their dislike for our system. The only way to attract them to the PZPR is to create a party model that also would appeal to young people. It must be an open and accessible program. In short, not in the clouds. When working on it, we will certainly take this into consideration.

[Minarik] The party leadership has adopted a standpoint that the premises of the party committees, beginning with the Central Committee all the way to the village committees, must be opened to people....

[Rakowski] We have already begun to do that and we also invite noncommunists to come to us. However, we must make marked progress. What is involved, for example, is that the building of the PZPR Central Committee is really opened to people. This, perhaps, is a little thing, but the porter's lodge with its building passes must be eliminated. The entry into a building can be regulated by other, more cultured means. After all, people must know that if they want to come to see us communists, the doors are open and that it is also their building. This certainly also applies to other, lower-level party buildings. We do not need palaces. A party which wants to be, and must be, militant and fighting, must not close itself in offices. We will do away with everything that makes one think that this is not a party committee, but an office. We have bureaucratized the access to us more than is healthy. After all, in the past this was not so. If I do not also make this change, young people and all others will not come to us.

[Minarik] In Katowice on Thursday [21 September], in Krakow on Friday night [22 September], and in Prague on Monday [25 September]. Is this not a very fast pace?

[Rakowski] It is alright—so far. I feel that today I have a no more important task than to rouse party organizations that sleep, and, unfortunately, we do have organizations like that. The activation of the party in primary organizations has become the most important task. Otherwise we will not realize what changes have taken place in our country. We come across the view that the first secretary of the party Central Committee should attend only the most important events. I do not agree. I, as well as other comrades from the PZPR leadership, must go to people. We have no right to be on an altar. We must be with people and help them, but also persuade and serve with assistance and advice. It is quite natural that we also must see to the comradely relations with our allies.

[Minarik] Many things have been changing in Poland of late. Please tell us what remains unchanged.

[Rakowski] As regards the PZPR, what remains unchanged is the loyalty to socialism. The safeguarding of socialist values remains in economic and social life, and in culture as well. However, we realize that what for us communists is lasting, someone else can regard as being alterable. From this also arises that, for example, the preservation or the defense of socialist values in Poland will require a struggle. However, at the same time everything that is outdated in socialist structures and thinking can undergo change. We ourselves palpably feel what has to be changed. One has to openly say that socialism in Poland does not fulfill one of its fundamental tasks, that is, increasing production enough to satisfy the needs of society. This, too, we must change.

[Minarik] Our readers are very interested in the new Polish party-government system. How would you characterize it?

[Rakowski] As a loyal support and the loyal cooperation between the party and the government. At the same time, the PZPR reserves itself the right to criticize government decisions which will not correspond with our ideas, that means, with the ideas of the socialist society. However, it would be foolish of us to criticize the Mazowiecki government only because it is not our government.

[Minarik] One of the requirements of the present stage of socialism is to combine high effectiveness and productivity of work with social justice. How is one to achieve that?

[Rakowski] You do ask difficult questions. Such a state cannot be achieved without sacrifices. By this I do not mean human sacrifices, of course.

[Minarik] What sort of sacrifices are they to be?

[Rakowski] For example, it is necessary to recognize that the rationalization of work is the fundamental prerequisite for progress, but also that precisely this can cause a person who today has social security to no longer have it to such an extent in the future. In our country there also exist views that the change of the economic policy which we have initiated and, as we hear, the Mazowiecki government wants to continue, has been—thus far—implemented without greater sacrifices. However, one also can hear in our country views that as long as we do not reduce the standard of living of the population by 20 percent, there will not be any progress. This is a diabolically difficult task, because our society is neither willing nor prepared to accept such a state of affairs. Its opinion is that as it is, its life is fairly hard and depriving it of any achievements would be at variance with social justice. Our people would prefer to have one of their feet cut off rather than give up something voluntarily. Therefore, combining high effectiveness with social justice is, thus far, very difficult in our country. Moreover, we do not have a more or less genial solution for this situation. Theoretically, it is possible to plan this in various ways, but in practice it looks completely differently. Therefore, one has to keep on seeking.

[Minarik] Thus far, the radical reforms in Poland have not yielded a radical improvement in the economic situation. Why?

[Rakowski] This arises from the fact that radicalism of economic reforms is based on an absolute disclosure of the truth. This causes us to suddenly move from behind a screen of various words and self-praise, which were dear to us, to a stage in which it is necessary to see life as it really is. This is the main cause. Moreover, in the past

we used be enthusiastic about the quantitative development of socialism, and it showed that we forgot the qualitative progress. To put it concisely: In many cases it turned out that the emperor did not have on any clothes. We have to pay dearly for that today. However, there are more problems, for example, not only the issues of productivity, but also of ethics and the relationship toward work. At the same time, however, we have to keep in mind that Poland has been buffeted by strikes for 8 years, a matter which steadily lowers production, causes nervousness in society and elicits unrest.

[Minarik] The years of unrest were to the liking of those who have so far been in opposition. The opposition held the view that all sorts of strikes are a suitable instrument with which to fight Communists. When we put all of these components together we get the answer why there has not been an improvement. However, I am not sure whether the majority of the people in our country have comprehended this. They would rather accept the view that it was the Communists who have made this mess, and this is not true.

[Minarik] You were and are fighting abnormal phenomena and also deep-rooted mediocrity. You are trying to put on its feet that which stood on its head. Are you succeeding?

[Rakowski] More or less. I see the main obstacle in the level of social awareness. The cause of mediocrity in this country rested in the wrong perception of socialism as a system of equality. This caused betting on mediocrity. The result was that for mediocre work one received mediocre remuneration, we were producing mediocre automobiles, we had to do with mediocre demagoguery, and so forth. All of this fits into the concept of equality at any price. Then there came into being the practice—I am still talking about Poland—that whoever was always content, who did not mind anything and who agreed with those in charge even when they were wrong deserved recognition, reward, and promotion for this. Since this was repeating itself all the time on a statewide scale, the new generation entering life did not take as its model those who fought for the elimination of problems and who were courageous and always ready to fight, but those who advanced without problems. Despite appeals, we were not creating real conditions for the dissatisfied to become the beloved sons. To the contrary: We made orphans of them.

[Minarik] How can this be changed?

[Rakowski] This requires working in many directions. It is necessary to play several instruments at the same time. The main issue is man's educational model, but also the party program, and the time factor. Since our system was developing for more than 4 decades, the negative phenomena cannot be changed in 5 or 10 years. At a minimum, one generation is necessary to do that. It could be done quickly, too, but then the country's development would have to be based on the principles of capitalism. If people were to end up on the street on the minimum dole, one could achieve psychological changes in a short time. When one wants to achieve changes without explosions, it is a long-term process.

[Minarik] And as regards reversing matters which used to be backward?

[Rakowski] It shows that this, too, is not that easy. Not only are the structures of the state and its economic management not used to changes, but they are exceptionally firmly tied to a certain style of work. Traditions have been established. When I was premier I had the opportunity to watch what was going on. We put something that was standing on its head back on its feet, and a few months later it was again in its original position. In essence I had to put up with the sabotage of reforms. This partly originated in people's conscious activity, who were saying, "He wants to carry out reforms, but we will show him we can do it better." The second form of sabotage was even worse—the unwitting, the unintentional sabotage. The state apparatus is a huge machine which cannot be easily stopped; it frequently works in the old way despite the newly adopted principles. This, in my opinion, is the greatest danger to the reforms.

[Minarik] Could it be the cause of the repeating crises in the country?

[Rakowski] This is not the main cause, but one of them.

[Minarik] And which is the main one?

[Rakowski] The neglect to create conditions which would ensure such growth of production which would be able to cover the growing needs of society. In other words: management problems. If this does not become the case, dissatisfaction might explode. However, it also is necessary to keep in mind that Polish society was to a considerably greater extent than your society an agricultural society. Technical development in our country was on a considerably lower level than in Czechoslovakia. After World War II, under people's power, new generations of sons of farmers and workers came to the management sphere, but they lacked practical experience in the management of the state. When enthusiasm and heroism after World War II was decisive and there was the elan to rebuild what Hitler had destroyed, this sufficed. However, gradually it was necessary to change to a qualitatively new management, and that was when problems started. There also were external influences, for example, Stalinism and its role in the country. On the one hand, it brought profound and extensive industrialization. This cannot be denied. On the other hand, it preached an irrational program in the economic sphere, in which dogmatism was more important than common sense. Finally, there also were other reasons: A not always well-thought-out policy was always more important than the economy. All of these things influenced the crises which repeated themselves in the country later on.

[Minarik] Qualitative changes are occurring on both sides of our borders. What further possibilities of cooperation do you see in this period?

[Rakowski] One has to strive to maintain the broadest possible principles of these contacts and to avoid everything that could prevent their development. National pride is immensely important. National pride can more than once insinuate to man steps that can be harmful to cooperation. I am a proponent of the closest possible relations—and not only between our fraternal parties.

I regard the fact that we are creating a new type of international relations to be a great success. However, I regard the fact that we have often narrowed friendship to the highest level as being our common weakness. We must fight for man, because various ethnic prejudices do not become extinct with the departure of the generation that elicited them. The happy and favorable development of our countries is possible only when we do not bare our teeth at each other. Therefore, I will always oppose all who do so and who are trying to weaken the bonds between our nations in the conviction that they are missionaries. Every nation and every party alone are responsible for what is going on in their own country. Therefore, I am against any one of us lecturing others, since we too would find it difficult to take. The means and methods which have to be employed to strengthen the values of friendship are a different matter. I think that the time has come to follow [the example of] the Western politicians who have closest contacts among themselves, and who meet, often several times a year. They conduct discussions, they telephone each other, and they present their views. That, too, is one of the ways in which we should strengthen the mutual unity of the socialist countries.

[Minarik] When, as a Pole, you take a look at your southern neighbors, how do you see our country, and us, the Czechs and the Slovaks?

[Rakowski] Above all, as people having a friendly attitude toward us, who also worry whether we can cope with our problems, and whether the existing situation in our country will not cause some sort of complications. I think that they are also asking those questions because they want to have a calm northern border and an economically strong northern neighbor, with whom it is possible to work together without worrying. Unfortunately, we are not economically strong today. We are still troubled by internal conflicts.

However, when I look at the problem comprehensively, I think that we Slavs, who make up the socialist bloc of the countries of Eastern and central Europe, should more honestly ponder our mutual relations to prevent various misunderstandings. Your nations—the Czechs and the Slovaks—have many good qualities and Czechoslovakia, as a whole, can serve us as a model in many respects, especially in the sphere of economic management.

We have an almost 1000-year-old history of mutual relations; the destinies of our nations are very similar. It might be that the existing development of relations does not correspond to those traditions. Maybe it would be a good thing for wise people in our two countries to pose the question why things are not better. There is much that is artificial that still subsists in our mutual relations. By this I do not mean only between the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic, but in the socialist countries in general. While the Western countries have been opening up their borders for their own people, we have begun closing ours more. This has great influence on people. We still have much to rectify. The future generations will have deal with this better than we have. We need to strengthen mutual trust and that is one of the ways.

[Minarik] I thank you for the interview.

Walesa Warns Against 'Absurd' Price Increases

LD2809193389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Remarks by Lech Walesa at a Press Conference in Gdansk on 28 September—recorded]

[Text] I don't know who really governs in this country. I am told that gasoline prices are established by someone who does what he wants, some director—isn't he subordinate to the government? Is he from the moon? Milk also is not within the power of the government. I also want to see independent enterprises but I want them to prove to me that it is necessary to increase prices by 100 percent overnight. I hear in the West, in other places—10 percent, no too much, 1 or 2 percent—but never 100 percent! One hundred percent overnight—this is absurd, this is impossible to comprehend. That is why it makes me mad, I'm just as angry as anyone else, even more so because this is blamed on me and on the premier. I understand why they blame it on the premier, but why me?

He [Prime Minister Mazowiecki] failed to find out about it in time, but he is the premier. I am not a premier. I am doing everything for the premier to be our man. I am dealing with the economy, but not in order to resolve the problems for the premier and for the government. I said: if anyone wants to cooperate in this country, and wants to see the greenbacks and other money, then I shall find a partner from him, let them agree, let him work well. And I did this—what Poland gave to me I gave to Poland back 10 times over—as was the case with my voivoda. Why [are] complaints sent to me? I am rallying 10,000 work enterprises in Poland now, I'll do it, there are willing participants, there is money, there is wisdom—but heck, get down to some work! Workers, get the management going, let them present a plan, let them say they increase prices of your goods so that milk can be cheaper. One is increasing the prices of ships, another telephone calls, another oil—and we have a vicious circle.

Everyone thinks: He raised his prices, and what about me? I am innocent. Everyone is guilty.

I have this question: Will there be a civil war in Poland or not? That is the question! If things continue as they are, no appeal of Lech Walesa or yours will help.

When someone does stupid things with prices this is plain stupidity—and everything is blamed on the government. That is why I am warning these people. Perhaps they are provocateurs and fools; they should not do it at Poland's cost.

If there are more price increases, I warn that most probably we shall not be able to keep people working normally, nobody will be able to keep them under control, neither the premier nor Lech Walesa.

Solidarity Leader Plans To Quit Politics

LD2809205189 Warsaw PAP in English 1955 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 28—Lech Walesa held his weekly press conference at the Solidarnosc headquarters in Gdansk, once again appealing for foreign assistance in the form of economic cooperation with Poland.

Walesa also announced he would withdraw from active political life, and in the long-term, also from Solidarnosc.

"I devoted over 20 years of my life to the country. I would like to enjoy life a bit, rest. Times of professionals are coming. I am only an excellent amateur while there will be no place for amateurs. There is the government, Sejm, Senate, I already feel that I am beginning to intrude because they are professional politicians. If I do not withdraw in time, they will have me withdrawn. But I would not be right in leaving the trade unions now. I must stay on till the congress, and if need be, I will once again jump over the fence, like in 1980," Walesa stated.

Seeks Life as 'Ordinary Citizen'

LD2809212489 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1900 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Walesa remarks recorded in Polish with superimposed Spanish translation throughout]

[Text] Poland is starting out on a new political and economic path led by the government headed by a member of the Solidarity trade union. In fact, the trade union leader, Lech Walesa, in statements to RNE, has said that the country needs a firm hand to overcome this period of crisis. Our special correspondent in Gdansk, Aurora Minguez, interviewed the Nobel Peace Prize winner.

[Minguez] Good evening. The chairman of Solidarity, Lech Walesa, considers that building the new Poland is the task of all but there must be a single hand at the controls. Using the simile of making a car Wales told RNE:

[Walesa] Everyone must take part in making the car but when the car is ready there must be a single driver who drives it. Everyone cannot drive at the same time. In Poland we are now starting to (?drive) the car and it seems that everyone wants to drive it, (?organizing) things in a way which from a distance does not seem good to some people. I know, and they criticize me for that reason. (?But it is) the best and most effective formula for acting.

[Minguez] The chairman of Solidarity also thinks that the trade union should remain as it is and not be a political organization. Walesa told this station that if a general strike were called he would act as a trade unionist, that is to say on the side of the masses, because they are the ones who have given him the power. The trade union leader admits that [words indistinct] is for President Jaruzelski but he also thinks he is acting correctly. Walesa says that he does not want to be the next Polish president.

[Walesa] No, I do not want to be the next Polish president. I do not want any more public roles. I have already devoted 20 years of my life to tasks of a social kind and I want to live like an ordinary citizen who does not bother anyone and who does not take part in any political activity. I do not know how I will do it but I repeat that it is enough with these 20 years of my private life devoted to public tasks.

Budapest TV Interviews Rakowski, Walesa

LD2609052789 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2020 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, PZPR first secretary, and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in Gdansk, by unidentified correspondent on the "Panorama" program; date not given; Rakowski and Walesa speak in Polish with superimposed Hungarian translation—no video available]

[Text] [Announcer] After Jaruzelski, Polish head of state offered coffee and cakes to the members of the newly elected government, he said: Posterity will decide whether what is happening in Poland now is the joke or logic of history. It is without doubt that extraordinary change has taken place in Poland. Panorama tried to investigate its consequences at the scene. This is why we are now going to bring together the two rivals on the screen: Rakowski, Communist Party first secretary and Walesa, leader of Solidarity, the loser and the winner who, in real life, it seems, cannot stand each other and indeed they avoid each other.

[Correspondent] The historic turn, of course, shook not only the Communist Party, the loser, but also the winner, Solidarity. First, let us hear Rakowski, whom I asked, what his party's relationship is toward Solidarity presently, and whether the simple communists accuse their leaders of allowing the party to slip from power.

[Rakowski] Oh yes, there are such opinions and they do ask the question, why did the party do this? But, you know, reality has to be viewed with open eyes. There is no doubt that our party, and yours similarly, were state parties in reality for long decades. Party members were accustomed to not having to fight any sort of political struggle, since the party committees decided every question from the lowest

to the highest level. And of course now, they are shocked, if not even the entire party membership. But part of them are shocked that now they are expected to fight a political struggle, to defend their views.

[Correspondent] How can the new Solidarity power work together with people who have such views and who are still working in the state apparatus?

[Rakowski] Well, this is also a kind of test for Solidarity, of whether the new power will be able to make these party members cooperate through rational arguments or whether they will just create a conflict situation. I, naturally, believe that the first solution is correct. This is the most useful one vis-a-vis the state and the nation because any conflict situation would only prolong the crisis, which has been going on for a long time, and will go on for a time, between the government of Mazowiecki and the party members in different positions. I believe that if a given political system stands for 40 years, then at least the period of a generation is needed to separate from this system completely.

[Correspondent] Thus, do party members in state functions have to support the new power, Solidarity, now?

[Rakowski] Yes, we represent this view, and I am also of the view that the foremost goal of the Communist Party or a left-wing party must be the interests of the nation. Individual ambitions and goals have to be subordinated to this national interest. Therefore, we demand that party members honestly support the Mazowiecki government. Naturally, we maintain our right to criticize those government measures which we think are contradictory to our ideas about democratic socialism. This is clear.

[Correspondent] Can't one worry that this situation will become like the one in Italy, where changes are frequent, governments come and go, and this is not necessarily advantageous to the country?

[Rakowski] Well, this danger exists. We must not forget that independently from the changes which took place in power relations and the change in the political map of the country, today and also tomorrow the determining factor is still the economy. The problem is that political power-relations closely depend on what is going on in the economy. And there, not much can happen practically, let us say during the next 6 months, because it will take years for the necessary economic changes in Poland to take hold and for it to get out of the economic crisis at all. However, people associate the notion of reform with an improvement in their situation. This is exactly where the drama of the reformers lies. They can show off with results in politics. However, in the sphere of the economy, they have hardly had any success, or none at all.

[Correspondent] The burden of solving economic problems has been taken on by the government of Solidarity now. This change has come as a surprise not only to some communists, but also to certain circles of Solidarity too. I have asked Walesa in Gdansk, whether the whole membership of Solidarity agrees that a government was formed on their behalf.

[Walesa] They do not agree, and this is quite right. We had promised them that we were going to become a trade union which will demand rights. However, it won't hurt to take into consideration, which is obvious anyway, that there is no need for independent trade unions in a Stalinist regime. This is why we participated in developing other structures and helped in forming the economy and politics so that in the future, we could become a good trade union.

[Correspondent] Right, but how long can a trade union, which is a social movement, be a governing power at the same time?

[Walesa] We have to help put the economy right, play our role in the development of politics and other pluralism and then our place will be precisely determined. Today, however, it is still a monopolistic situation, partly because the monopoly of the post-Stalinist regime still exists, and partly because of the monopoly of Solidarity. Both monopolies are wrong. But actualy, we ourselves will eliminate this monopoly when we create pluralism and freedom. Now our movement is also divided. Why? Because of pluralism. We agree with this division. We undertake this and the other side also has to resign to this division. Actually, we act against ourselves by not wanting to keep the monopoly situation. We do not want to be the only great power. We, ourselves break up the unity of our wonderful movement.

[Correspondent] Is it true, what people say nowadays that Solidarity has two centers, two capitals, one is the administrative center here, in Gdansk, and the other, the political one in Warsaw?

[Walesa] I do not agree with this, because there are not only two centers but several already. If we talk about pluralism then the existence of several centers has to be accepted. We live in a period of confrontation presently. Thus the remains of one party system characteristic to the post-Stalinist regime still exist. On the other hand, the monopoly of Solidarity stands and this results in confrontation, even if it is a peaceful one. After having established the political and other pluralism several such centers will exist, I think, at least twenty. This is not favorable, this is not good but this has to be endured. Then four to five of these centers will remain on the battlefield. These are going to be political and trade union centers, just as it is in the world elsewhere now.

[Correspondent] Although, it is true that you did not legally entrust Mazowiecki with forming a government, General Jaruzelski, the head of state did, you made a proposal for the person of the prime minister, you chose Tadeus Mazowiecki. After all this, what is the relationship between you and the government and you and Mazowiecki? Can you, for example give instructions or proposals to the government?

[Walesa] No, no, no. I want to respect the law, or if it is wrong then correct it. In Poland the laws have to be improved. For the time being a great improvisation is going on here. This is why sometimes I have to deal with matters which have nothing to do with me, namely, not trade union matters, as an auxiliary work. As you probably know, I travel the world begging for economic aid. I explain the developments in the political system, but I do this not as a full-time job, only as an second job. At the same time, I always clarify that I am not the government, I am not a political party, I openly indicate what directions things are going in in Poland. If somebody wants to carry out concrete talks, I direct them to the prime minister, to the government, or to the party. But if it is a trade union matter, then naturally I deal with it myself.

[Correspondent] You have made me curious. I have to ask you: How would you determine your own place, in other words, who you, Lech Walesa, are for the Poland of today?

[Walesa] Everybody would answer this question differently. If I would endeavor to maintain the monopolistic situation for ourselves, the majority would support me. But since I am a follower of pluralism, more and more people are dissatisfied with me and more and more people search for their place in the future in a way that they do not reckon with me. This is normal because I fight for pluralism. And real pluralism means that I have to share my own power with others and this has happened. I have shared it with the prime minister. I have a prime minister and I have to heed his words. He can put me into prison but I can't do the same to him. He has the government, the minister of interior, the defense minister and the others, at his disposal, but I have no ministers. Thus, I may have created this regime, but this regime is stronger than me, and I am aware of this.

Now I have more time to deal with the trade union although it is not entirely to my liking because the economy is not in order yet. But if the party law and the law on trade unions are adopted then we could consider the political changes as complete, and then, I will not have to express my opinion in political questions because the political parties will safeguard these. So, for me then the topic can be considered closed, except if I were to join one of the parties. But I have no such wish. So, the period of politicizing will be closed for me too.

[Correspondent] Will there be room for the communists too in your pluralism?

[Walesa] Naturally. Freedom for everyone. I do not try to convince anybody to follow my line, because it would be wrong if I got into a monopoly situation and if I set prohibitive notices for others. Then I would not be a democrat. I have roughly imagined that earlier, how the power relations will form in the future. The situation, however, has developed slightly differently. Now the Christian line is dominating, in second place there are the trade unions and the political parties, first of all Christian parties among them, and the communists only get third place in this country. This is the order today and it is going to be like this even more tomorrow. Today, the burden of eliminating democracy and freedom still lays heavily on the communists. But in the future, when all this will be past, when these disadvantages will cease, when freedom will reign in our country, and the lack of it will not burden the communists, then they will have a better chance to convince people. Since the communists have greater experiences, their politicians are well-trained and they are not ignorant about planning either. Their position is fairly good if they are going to remain faithful to freedom, democracy, and pluralism.

[Correspondent] But will the people have sufficient patience to wait until this situation arises?

[Walesa] We can choose another path too. We can make a little revolution, a little disturbance in Gdansk or somewhere else. But we have to get onto the road of pluralism and freedom by all means. And I ask the question, is it worth it? Is it worth me first breaking the window and then reglazing it with my own money? Is it worth it first to destroy Gdansk and than to rebuild it again? The people of today, the workers of today are intelligent and they know that if they destroy anything, they will have to rebuild it themselves, so they will have to suffer for it. Naturally, if there is no freedom and the barriers are high, the workers will perhaps be forced to use destruction. Today, however, it is not possible to say that there is no freedom, because there is. Thus, there is no point in breaking windows, destruction, and strikes, if there is a chance for independent action. People will understand more and more and they will not want to go in this direction. They will not want to step on the road of strikes and destruction because this is not in their interest. What is going to happen the future will tell.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

2d Part 15th PZPR CC Plenum on 3 Oct

LD2709200789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] The second part of the 15th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee plenum, preparing the 11th congress, will be held on 3 October. Jan Bisztyga, the PZPR Central Committee spokesman, announced this.

PZPR Information Commission Meets

AU2809163889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Sep 89 p 2

[Report signed 'Waj': "Where the Uncertainties Come From"]

[Text] The appointment of a new chairman of the Radio and Television Committee only slightly abated the wave of rumor, speculation, and the more serious apprehension prevailing in journalistic circles, and this fact was

readily apparent at the meeting of the members of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Information Policy Commission who met on the 25 September. The meeting was the first meeting of this commission for some time. Its members also had the first opportunity of meeting Marek Krol, the Central Committee secretary with responsibility for this commission.

It was not the rumors that were the chief reason for the calling of the commission, although the subject of rumors was raised by the journalists present; journalists who were also members of this commission. They raised the point to merely illustrate how apprehensions and uncertainties can arise. In certain editorial offices, and especially in the Radio and Television Service, there was a feeling of a complete standstill.

The commission met in order to define its own position to the government's stated intentions in this sphere, and the commissions's deliberations took their starting point from the part of the premier's Sejm speech that was concerned with information policy and the mass media. The commission met to exchange views on the subject of reforms in the mass media.

The government intentions put forward in the premier's speech were assessed as positive. However, it was felt that they were rather vaguely formulated. The statement: "The role of censorship must be further limited" was considered too vague. This was pointed out without any accompanying efforts to defend censorship, or the adoption of any firm position on the matter.

The premier's speech was also the starting point for the exchange of views on the worrying signals which came not from the stated declarations contained in the speech, but from real life. Radio and television, we are told, are to be pluralized, but GAZETA WYBORCZA publishes headlines like "Our Television." There were comments that the government was saying one thing, was indicating one direction, but the practice below was completely different.

As for the journalists that are employed by the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch workers publishing cooperative, the members of the commission were agreed that the slow tempo of reform in this organization was largely to blame for the poor morale of its members.

Referring to the matters that had been discussed, Marek Krol proposed that the next meeting of the commission should be dedicated to a consideration of the proposed reforms in this publishing cooperative. He foresaw that the commission would have to be in a position to react quickly to developments and, through its debates and discussions, work out the position of the Central Committee in relation to information policy. In the absence of the chairman, the meeting was chaired by Jerzy Majka, deputy chairman of the Central Committee Information Policy Commission.

Orzechowski Discusses PZPR Deputies Club

AU2809164189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Sep 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club, by Dorota Ciepielowska: "A Control Package of Left-Wing Forces"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Ciepielowska] I would like to welcome you as chairman of the opposition club.

[Orzechowski] I cannot agree with that description. The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] is not in opposition, and consequently neither is its club. However, everything is possible in a parliamentary democracy, in which political arrangements can change. Today the club represents a party that is a partner in the government. It is true that it is a minority partner, but one that has an important role. It can only be an opposition in the sense that, while accepting declarations of intent as an expression of good will, it is not endorsing some kind of blank check in advance and it will assess government policy on the basis of the results that it produces.

[Ciepielowska] No one claims that the PZPR is monolithic any more. So, what kind of political tendencies are represented in the club?

[Orzechowski] It is true that the party is not monolithic, and there is no point in entertaining illusions about it ever becoming that. Essentially, monoliths are something unnatural in politics. One can only talk about them in the context of autocratic, totalitarian systems, and even then it is largely a matter of appearances.

Actually, all the tendencies present in the party itself are represented in the club. There are deputies who hold more traditional views, and those who favor socialism in the spirit of the 10th Central Committee plenum, that is, humanist, democratic socialism. There are also representatives in the traditional social democratic mold, and liberals are undoubtedly also present. The common denominator is socialism that expresses itself in recognizing and striving after the realization of a system of political, socioeconomic, and ethical values that are derived from socialism.

[Ciepielowska] What unites PZPR deputies the most, and what causes particularly clear divisions among them?

[Orzechowski] This may smack of pathos, but what unites them most is concern about Poland's future, the future of the nation, about extricating the country from the crisis, as well as about the future of socialism and the party. There is no doubt about that. Where we differ most is in our views on ways of achieving our goals; in short, we differ on tactics, approaches, and methods.

This often makes itself felt very strongly. The possible removal of the clause in the Constitution on the leading role of the party, which was proposed by 15 deputies, is an example. Actually, no one in the club doubts that this

is an anachronism and that the true role and place of the party are not determined by the provisions of the Constitution. The differences that emerged during discussion were over the approaches, over how the Constitution should be changed, whether it should be changed "bit by bit," by adding new elements to the old Constitution, which was written at an entirely different time and in a different language, or whether we should go to the trouble of conducting what I would call a minor revision, that is, the removal of obvious anachronisms, or should we rapidly prepare the draft of a new constitution.

[Ciepielowska] There were sparks flying on the club-Central Committee axis at the beginning of the session.

[Orzechowski] Yes, there really was some tension for the first few months, and it stemmed from the radical change in the club's position. First, the deputies were chosen in the course of a bitter political contest. A proportion of them, and quite a sizable one at that, only obtained seats because of the indifferent attitude of some echelons—that is putting it mildly—and sometimes in the face of clear opposition from echelons. Combined with an entirely new situation, this had to give rise to tensions between statutory party organs, including the Central Committee, and deputies. Second, and this is a fundamental issue, it already became apparent at the inaugural session that the club would not accept a role of passively implementing decisions made outside it, that it will want to exercise an influence on decisions concerning parliamentary policy and that it will not only demand a hearing for its arguments, but will expect its arguments to be taken into account. It will also fight for full autonomy to implement decisions that are made and adopted jointly, because it is acquainted better than anyone else with the situation and mood in parliament—in the clubs and in the corridors—and often there is insufficient time to hold consultations.

Viewed in the broadest terms, this stems from the fact that the June elections marked the start of the road toward parliamentary democracy, and that means, among other things, the center of the political life of the country has shifted to parliament. However, becoming conscious of this is a difficult process. I think that the deputies realized rather more quickly that the political nerve center is on Wiejska Street, not on Grzybowski Street, or at the point where Jerozolimski Avenue and Nowy Swiat meet, or on Rutkowski Street.

The process must take some time. I think that the 11th congress should produce a kind of synthesis between the Central Committee and the PZPR Deputies Club. What I can imagine as an ideal solution is that in future a significant number of club members will be represented in the broad leadership of the party. That is what happens in socialist and social democratic parties in the West. So there are no "sparks," there is nothing sensational, but what there is is a reflection of the changes that are taking place in our country and in my party.

[Ciepielowska] How are the processes taking place in the PZPR being reflected in the club?

[Orzechowski] I said that all the tendencies that have emerged are also present in the club. However, something else is the most important thing today. Should we stand back from these changes and assume that they do not affect the club, or should we fully commit ourselves to searching for a new programmatic, statutory, organizational form for the party, irrespective of the new name that it adopts. The prevailing view is that we cannot remain on the sidelines, because the decisions made at the 10th and 13th plenums concern, for example, alternative program platforms, and apply to us just as much as to every other kind of internal party structure. Thus, the club will take part in the work of the congress commission, which will be set up during the second half of the 15th plenum but, leaving that aside, it will probably also want to set out a clear and independent stance on the changes that are taking place in the party. I do not exclude the possibility that we will produce a platform of our own which, from the perspective of deputies' experience, will provide answers to fundamental questions such as what kind of party and what kind of socialism we should have, and finally, against this background, what kind of Poland we should have.

[Ciepielowska] It is rumored that the club might split into various factions.

[Orzechowski] Everything is possible in politics, especially in today's Poland. However, the self-preservation instinct would seem to suggest to the club that its strength lies in unity, not in being divided into factions. The PZPR Deputies Club, which has 173 members, is a kind of Sejm control package for left-wing forces, a center for socialist forces that can control the course of institutional change. The dissolution of the club would mean the loss of this package, and anyone who is thinking about such a possible course of events has to ask himself what consequences this would have. I think that this is the prevailing point of view, and that the differences are not great enough to lead to a split.

[Ciepielowska] Will you put forward any new legislative proposals, that is, apart from the ones that we already know about?

[Orzechowski] A kind of proposals race has started up in the Sejm. I can understand prestige being a motive, but a law should not be a cause pursued by one club. Some laws will require a two-thirds majority, and thus cooperation in creating them is necessary. So, for example, we proposed a law on political parties, and then so did the Democratic Party, and we already know that the draft laws are different. Then the Citizens' Parliamentary Club put forward proposals of its own concerning amendments to the Constitution. We know that no club can solve these matters by itself. We have already started up cooperation with the Citizens Parliamentary Club and the Democratic Party, in order to find more effective solutions. In a few years' time, no citizen will think

about who put forward a proposal, but he will think about how it has benefited the nation, what results it has produced.

We are working on about 30 proposals; draft laws on, for example, property matters, the right of assembly, as well as amendments to the regulations on pensions and benefits, and sentences of imprisonment. We are also considering dual citizenship and issues concerning shipping in coastal areas that have to be resolved so that no more problems are encountered in our territorial waters. In short, today there is no area of life where, in accordance with the programmatic and political goals of our party, we would not like to contribute to qualitative improvements, and this is just the beginning of the 10th Sejm.

Defense Minister on Party Structures in Army

AU2809204589 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Sep p 2

[Speech by General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense, during the first part of the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 18 September]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades! Long before the creation of the situation that we are witnessing today, one of "Solidarity's" main stated aims was the depolitization of the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and their transformation into institutions having a common national character.

During the period of the formation of the government, and during the so-called hearings, I was asked many questions—questions that continually touched on how I saw the problem of depoliticizing the Armed Forces, that is to say, how I intended to solve the problems stemming from membership of the party within the Armed Forces. I was also asked how I envisaged the future involvement of the party within the Armed Forces, so that such involvement would not only serve a single party's interests, but so that the Armed Forces could become an institution serving the whole nation. Many publications that carried the replies I gave at those hearings, with a few exceptions, correctly reported abbreviated versions of my views on this matter. I believe, and this is the view that I presented at the hearings, that our Armed Forces have always been and continue to be a force serving the whole national community—an institution with a nationwide character. Allegations which maintain that this is not so are without basis, and are a gross misunderstanding of the situation.

For historical reasons it happens to be true that the majority of our officer cadres are members of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. However, this party preponderance has not been a hindrance. On the contrary, it has been a great help in the performance of tasks in the name of the Polish nation and state. Basing themselves on the ideology of our party, these cadres regard their service as a patriotic duty and continue to regard it as such today. I understand that the new political conditions that manifest themselves in the new political pluralism throughout our country, demand the introduction of certain reforms—reforms that also touch on the party's presence within the Armed Forces. The Main Political Administration's role also needs to be revised, as does the position and role of the party-political structures in the forces.

We must also adapt the program of civic education for the men doing their basic military service. My ripostes to the pressure that was put on me at those hearings to get me to confirm, there and then, concrete proposals of my intentions in this sphere and to state a firm schedule for these reforms, were to assert that such pressure was unnecessary, because haste at this stage would only produce unnecessary tensions that would have a bad effect on all the things that we were already doing in the framework of the general reform of the state.

I also understand that changes will inevitably cause frustrations in the officer cadres who will be affected by them, and we shall have to have a wide-ranging program of explanations about why these changes are being introduced. I am not able to give concrete examples of changes, because we are still elaborating a comprehensive program of reforms. I intend to present our suggestions to the higher authorities for their evaluation, and later I shall inform society of these changes, as I am bound to by the Sejm Commission for Defense. I estimate that I shall be in a position to begin implementing accepted changes toward the end of the year. I would like to inform you that state control over the Armed Forces will be in the hands of the National Defense Committee. This committee will also be responsible for shaping the general guidelines of the defensive capabilities of the state, based on the new doctrinal principles. The Sejm Commission for Defense will supervise the legislation pertinent to the Army. The Social Consultative Council of the minister of national defense will play an additional advisory role. This council, which is composed of the representatives of all the political forces represented in the Sejm, will supervise the social conditions of the Army, the program of civic education, matters related to Army cooperation with various political and social organs, youth organizations, and so forth. The council will only have an advisory capacity and will not infringe on the principle of personal command. The strength of our Army stems chiefly from the profound patriotism of its cadres and their desire to serve the nation. I firmly believe that the changes we will introduce will not hinder our military capability, and will reinforce the common national character of our Armed Forces.

Thank you for your attention.

PZPR's Krol on Change in Party's Status

PM2909101589 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 2 Sep 89 p 5

[Interview with Marek Krol, PZPR Central Committee secretary, by POLITYKA correspondent Marian Turski; date, place not given]

[Text] [Turski] As party secretary, do you feel yours is a ruling or an opposition party?

[Krol] It was only a few weeks ago that I was elected secretary of the Central Committee of the ruling party, and I have already been through a period when it seemed that the party would go into opposition. I have been watching the reactions of many of my colleagues, both younger and older than myself, and I must say that the younger ones, those of my own generation, have coped better with the situation. In my case the explanation is simple. I was a late joiner. I came to the party late, at the age of 29, at a time when most of my contemporaries were joining Solidarity. It was partly because I wanted to be different, nonconformist—but if I were to analyze my conscious, or rather subconscious motives at that time, I am convinced I was motivated by a desire to belong to a party which had to compete hard for influence. I did not want to belong to a party that would be, so to speak, ideologically secure, venerable, and sanctified. A party which would play the role of a government office, or even a government mega-office.

It is, of course, amusing to watch people's reaction to my position—or, more precisely, the changes in people's reaction. When they saw me as secretary of the ruling party, they would kowtow to me in a big show of servility—which I hated anyway. Then, over just a few days, it all changed, as if they stopped noticing me at all. I see the same reaction in the corridors of the Sejm. But I am not complaining. Contrary to appearances, I see in it a big chance for my generation, and an even bigger one for the next generation. Those whose convictions coincide with our program will be joining a political party worthy of its name.

[Turski] So you declare that you no longer regard yourself as an activist of a ruling party—but do you feel you are in an opposition party?

[Krol] This is precisely the problem. A strange and paradoxical situation has arisen here. It could be claimed with equal validity that the entire Sejm now backs the opposition or that it supports the government. Of course, once we have joined the government we are no longer an opposition party. But at the same time we are not giving up the right to take an opposing stand with regard to certain future moves by the government, or the government coalition members, with which we may disagree. On the whole, I am reluctant to use the term "opposition." Take, for instance, the question discussed by First Secretary M. Rakowski during his meeting with voivodship secretaries responsible for propaganda: Solidarity's is a peculiar type of opposition considering that, as a trade union, it depends heavily on the working class for its membership—just as we do. Consequently, should it not be regarded as belonging somewhere in the left-wing camp? Are the ideals of socialism alien to the majority of Solidarity members?

[Turski] I conclude from this that you were not disconcerted by the fact that the premier-designate never once quoted the word socialism in his program speech before the Sejm. Or were you?

[Krol] Not at all. We have had many politicians who were forever speaking about socialism—with nothing much to show for it.

[Turski] When did you first realize that a Solidarity man might become prime minister?

[Krol] After the first round of the elections. I must admit that it was not without apprehension that I first thought of such a possibility. And when Michnik's celebrated article, "Your President, Our Premier," was published on 3 July, I began to sketch, as it were, in my imagination the various possible scenarios for the future turn of events. One of these even envisaged the possibility that the surrender of power—for we should call a spade a spade—could lead to the party's ultimate demise. At the same time I did not exclude the possibility that the power takeover by Solidarity could represent such a threat to party members that they would muster all their resources and speed up the implementation of the changes in the party which have been discussed in vain for the past 8 years. The Ninth Congress was not firm enough. Its original objectives gave way to complacency and a self-congratulatory feeling of being the dominant, ruling party. In fact, it was not until M. Rakowski asked his dramatic questions at the 10th Congress that the party realized the urgency of the situation. Had it not been for that, we would still be languishing in our comfortable passivity today—but for how much longer? Maybe this will surprise you, but I do not like my party's customary image, with its traditional iconography, its time-honored slogans, and so on. I am actually glad—and this is not a paradox—that the party has been forced to go into battle. As the Chinese proverb has it: If the cure does not kill me, it will strengthen me.

[Turski] Which tendency in the party exerts stronger pressure on its leadership: the reformers or the hard-liners?

[Krol] There is no simple answer to this question, as divisions within the party do not always run along these lines. There are party members who support the reforms even as they put forward other, hard-line proposals. All too often they suffer from feelings of frustration, bitterness, and resentment against the party leadership's having "given away" power. The atmosphere which can be observed in the party today can be described, in boxing terms, as a daze after a punch, or a state of shock after a knockdown.

[Turski] Are you not afraid that a mass exodus from the party could take place in the near future?

[Krol] This is possible, but I should like to point out that we can nowadays observe a universal crisis of mass membership parties, and not only in Poland, either. People are reluctant to join any party these days. Nor do

I expect to see a rapid expansion (in the sense of membership increase) of any new parties.

[Turski] Regardless of the orientation?

[Krol] Yes. Regardless of the orientation.

[Turski] In view of the passive attitude adopted by most PZPR members, would it not be preferable to aim for a more select party membership rather than the present ideal of mass membership?

[Krol] It depends what you understand by this. If it were to be a party along the lines of the Italian Communist Party, I would vote for such a model.

[Turski] Could we now turn back to the events of the 14th PZPR Central Committee Plenum? What do you think about those party members who believe that the conduct of the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD] was an act of treachery to the erstwhile coalition?

[Krol] On the whole I am in favor of separating emotional and political thinking, though I must also admit to some emotional reactions. After all, it was common knowledge that after the elections certain differences arose between the traditional leadership teams of the then allied parties and their parliamentary deputies, who—to a large extent—got into the Sejm with Solidarity support. Leaders of the allied parties could not risk dissent, the creation of splinter groups, or the adoption of completely independent positions by their parliamentary deputies' groups. As the French saying has it, they were forced to make the best of what they had, that is, to join the movement which heralded the new coalition. This was a logical move even if it may have enraged us party members. Those party leaders were simply obeying their self-preservation instinct.

[Turski] Is it not true that the 14th Plenum resolution, or at least that passage in it which referred to the coalition, was also a highly emotionally charged text?

[Krol] The resolution reflected the feelings and the mood of the great multitude of our party members. This is something we cannot afford to overlook. Their feeling of resentment was voiced, among other things, in their complaints against our party leadership's inability to foresee events early enough to take appropriate measures. De Gaulle used to say: To govern is to anticipate. This is true. The art of government depends on the ability to foresee the future development of events.

[Turski] Since we are talking about the art of anticipation, I should like to ask you for your own opinion of the week that shook Poland. That week began 17 August. On the morning of that day Walesa, Malinowski, and Jozwiak posed for a triumphal picture in front of the Myslewicki Palace in the Lazienki Gardens. That same morning the First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee met with 200 secretaries of party organizations at Poland's major enterprises. On the same day a TRYBUNA LUDU headline announced that Poland had entered the struggle for power. During the meeting with party secretaries there was discussion about the need to sound the alarm throughout the party ranks because the anti-PZPR coalition could prompt a widespread "witch-hunt" which, in turn, would make it necessary to protect the faithful cadres that for decades involved themselves in the building of the socialist system. The "doomsday clock" was not showing 5 minutes to midnight: It was showing seconds to midnight... The party faced the prospect of being forced into unqualified opposition. Two days later the 14th Plenum was convened. Despite all reservations, the Plenum voted that the PZPR should join the grand coalition, and a few days later the majority of PZPR parliamentary deputies demonstrated their confidence in the Solidarity representative during the parliamentary vote on the appointment of the new premier and thus opened up the possibility of creating an entirely new political configuration...

[Krol] Although in formal terms the events of that week were spaced fairly evenly over the 7 days, only 1 day—that Thursday—was to play the decisive role. Indeed, we had one kind of Poland on our hands in the morning and another in the afternoon. In the morning the dominant attitude was such as can still be found in some fraternal parties: that Poland was in danger of drifting away from socialism. This kind of monopoly-oriented thinking equated the party with socialism: The party was assumed to hold a monopoly on the building of socialism. And this assumption was official and mandatory until noon, or about an hour after noon. Later that afternoon First Secretary Rakowski gave a summing-up speech in which he warned against the danger of a "siege mentality"... In the evening, at the meeting with the PZPR parliamentary club, Rakowski was already perfectly relaxed and obviously greatly relieved, as if a heavy burden had shifted from his shoulders. But this was already after the meeting between President Jaruzelski and Walesa, Malinowski, and Jozwiak—and after the decision to designate a Solidarity representative to the office of premier. There is no doubt that all those who took part in the dramatic developments of that day suffered from the choking sensation of the noose of time tightening around them.

If I am to assess the decisions made by the party leadership on that day, I believe that they fully warrant the use of grandiloquent words. The party has shown that it regards the national interest as standing above all else and that for the good of that national interest it is capable of rising above its own particular party interest. And Gen Jaruzelski's decision was made precisely in the interest of the nation. Let me just add that the party's loss of the monopoly on power and its becoming one of several, or many, parties operating in the system can give it a new lease of life as a truly fighting party. That would be the kind of party we are all hoping for.

Rakowski Meets UPP Chairman Ludwiczak

LD2809223589 Warsaw PAP in English
2109 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 28—PUWP CC First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski met today with Chairman of the United Peasants' Party Dominik Ludwiczak.

The two discussed the social and political developments in the country, expressing the conviction that only the cooperation of various political forces and concerted work for economic stabilization and public peace provides a chance for overcoming the current crisis in Poland.

Democratic Party Elects New Leader

LD2909022989 Warsaw PAP in English
2258 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 28—The Democratic Party's [DP] parliamentary floor group today changed its leader. Deputy Jan Janowski who held this post from the beginning of the present parliamentary term resigned having accepted a government post. "I believe, there is no way to link parliamentary and government functions," Janowski said.

DP Central Committee chairman Jerzy Jozwiak said that his party authorities had given up their opportunity to nominate a candidate leaving the decision to the parliamentary floor group which named three candidates: Tadeusz Bien, Zbigniew Rudnicki, and Stanislaw Suchodolski. None of them got enough votes in the first ballot. The second round made Zbigniew Rudnicki leader of the DP deputies.

Rudnicki, 60, has been DP member since 1952 and activist of the party since 1956. He climbed the party ladder from secretary and town committee chairman in Poznan to Central Committee secretary. Minister of Communications in the years 1980-1981, resigned in June 1981. Elected chairman of the board of the Central Artisans' Union under martial law and keeps this office till now.

Mazowiecki Meets With SDP, NZS Heads

LD2809211189 Warsaw PAP in English
1834 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 28—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met today with representatives of the Association of Polish Journalists, (SDP) headed by chairman Stefan Bratkowski to discuss the situation of the journalists and the structure of mass media. The journalists put forward their postulates on the issue, emphasizing the need for demonopolizing the RSW "PRASA-KSIAZKA-RUCH" publishing cooperative and reinstating the state ownership of agencies and bodies acquired by the concern. They were against immediate introduction of free paper market.

Deputy government spokesman Henryk Wozniakowski participated in the meeting.

Also today, Mazowiecki meet with heads of the Independent Student's Association (NZS) who briefed the premier on the draft programme of the association's work and basic obstacles hampering it. They pointed to barriers that make it impossible for student organizations to work on equal rights, and proposed moves that would remove these barriers. the postulates concerning the autonomy of universities and democratic society met with the premier's approval.

Minister-member of the Council of Ministers Aleksander Hall took part in the meeting.

GAZETA WYBORCZA Called 'Biggest Paper'

LD2609161689 Warsaw PAP in English
1359 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 26—In connection with its 100th issue, the "GAZETA WYBORCZA" daily carries today an interview with its administration director Grzegorz Lindenberg who revealed that the paper is edited by a company specially formed to make the "GAZETA" independent.

Zbigniew Bujak, Aleksander Paszynski and Andrzej Wajda (all of them as members of the citizens' committee that founded the paper) are owners of the company. Only they can take a decision on closing the paper, on changes in its volume, content, political line, Lindenberg said.

Our circulation reaches over half a million and it steadily grows. We sell some 460,000 copies. We could easily sell 700,000 or 800,000, the director added. We are printed in Warsaw, Lodz, Bydgoszcz, Cracow and Wroclaw.

Presently we are the biggest paper in Poland, Grzegorz Lindenberg continued. The "TRYBUNA LUDU" has, I think, the circulation of 300,000 and a lot of returns. For instance, in Cracow 100,000 copies of the "GAZETA" are printed and 50,000 of the "TRYBUNA LUDU" and at the start the proportion was the other way round.

We owe 100 million Zloties to the bank at 60 percent interest rate, the director said. It is no problem in the situation when we have the turnover of 800 million a month.

Probably next year, the "GAZETA" will already have 16 pages every day, Grzegorz lindenberg announced.

Cabinet Appoints Ownership Transformation Official

LD2509230189 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers (RM) held a meeting today. The communique on the meeting reads inter alia: In connection with the need for urgent action to increase the effectiveness of the economy by transforming its ownership structure, a resolution of the RM has been passed on establishing the post of the government plenipotentiary for the transformation of ownership (PRSPW). The creation of the permanent institution

equipped with relevant powers will require passage of a law. The institution of the government plenipotentiary in its present shape is of temporary character. The tasks of the plenipotentiary who will be placed within the Finance Ministry will include among others: Working out the program and principles of the transformation of the ownership structure of the economy, controlling the securing of the interests of the treasury and state property in connection with such transformations and cooperation with the chairman of the agency for investment abroad on creating companies with participation of the treasury or state legal entities. The RM made it incumbent on ministers heading the central offices and the regional organs of State administration to consult decisions on transformation of ownership with the government plenipotentiary. Such consultations are to encourage transformations in line with the principles of elementary principles of social justice.

A resolution has also been passed to set up a plenipotentiary for the matters of reform of regional selfgopvernment; he will have the rank of the undersecretary of state in the RM office. His tasks will be to organize work connected with preparation and execution of the comprehensive reform of regional selfgovernment and cooperation with the Sejm and Senate in working out the regulations making this possible.

A resolution has also been adopted setting up a coordinating committee of the RM for the matters of law observance under the leadership of Czeslaw Kiszczak, deputy premier and minister of internal affairs. The tasks of the committee, which will be an advisory organ of the RM, will include: Carrying our evaluations of the state of law observance in Poland and the range and intensity of the phenomena which threaten the fundamental social and economic interests of the country, formulation of opinions and recommendations regarding the effectiveness of combatting crime and initiating actions increasing the efficiency of struggle against crime, examination of the effectiveness of the legally-defined forms and methods of maintaining public order, promoting the feeling of security of the citizens and protection of their life, health and property.

The RM also passed resolutions abolishing the sociopolitical committee of the RM and the Council for Housing. The RM has approved the draft law on the National Judicial Council whose creation will constitute, apart from relevant constitutional changes, an element of the realization of the roundtable agreements concerning the administration of justice. The most significant competence of the Council, resulting directly from changed constitutional law, will be presentation of recommendations to the president to appoint judges. Without the motion of the Council nobody wil be appointed as a judge. The composition of the National Judicial Council will include: First chairman of the Supreme Court, as its chairman, then a person selected by the president of the Polish People's Republic, minister of justice, six [Sejm] deputies, chairman of the Supreme Administrative Court, two judges of the Supreme Court, one judge of the Supreme Administrative Court, and nine common court judges. The term of office of the Council will be 4 years.

The minister of labor and social policy presented the RM with results of the consultations with the trade unions on the draft change law on indexation.

Prison Chief Discusses Prison Unrest

AU2709183389 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with Romuald Soroko, director general in the ministry of justice, and chief of the prison service, by Wanda Falkowska: "There Will Be No Consequences"]

[Text] [Falkowska] We constantly hear of strikes in various prisons. How many have there been to date?

[Soroko] From June of this year, the disturbances, some of which only last for a few hours, and others, several days, have occurred in 42 prison institutions, including 30 institutions exclusively for repeat offenders. These disturbances lasted the longest in Czarne and Kaminsk. In Lodz, they have taken a very serious turn because a whole prison wing is now being occupied by inmates.

[Falkowska] One talks of "disturbances." What is the form of these prisoner protests?

[Soroko] The forms of protest are varied. Sometimes it is just a question of refusal to work, or to eat, in other cases it is a case of occupying the work places, or recreational facilities.

[Falkowska] What are the prisoners demanding?

[Soroko] Above all, changes in the penal law, review of their sentences, amnesty—even for repeat offenders. Other aspects are demands to increase their earnings and to make a larger part of their earnings available to the prisoners. Improvements to the general social conditions are a separate group of demands. Here, I would name calls for better food, medical attention, better treatment by the prison security officers, and more opportunities for recreation and study. It is easiest to arrive at some sort of compromise in settling these types of issues.

[Falkowska] And in others?

[Soroko] The reform of the criminal law, review of prison sentences, and the question of amnesty, are all issues that are not within the competence of the Central Board of Prison Administration. These are not problems that one can solve just like that. Regarding prisoner demands in the matter of their earnings, we regard these demands as proper. The resolution of all these matters is, however, closely tied to the reform of the criminal code administrative regulations, which contain provisions in the matter of a prisoner's earnings and sets their limits. We are in the middle of preparing drafts to amend the criminal code administrative regulations and we hope that the draft will be laid before the Sejm in the very near

future. If it is accepted, we shall then be in a position to resolve all these problems concerned with earnings. The prisoners will also be entitled to certain employment and pension rights.

[Falkowska] We have received information that the prisoners are dissatisfied with the new prison regulations due to be introduced on 1 October 1989.

[Soroko] I would be the last to maintain that the new regulations are prefect, but there is a close correlation between them and the criminal code administrative regulations. The new regulations will not worsen the conditions of prisoners in any respect. Conversely, in many cases they improve them. There will be closer contact permitted with families, longer walks, more recreational and free time, and so forth. These new regulations, however, put a lot of additional burdens on the prison officers.

[Falkowska] Is this resented by the prison service?

[Soroko] If it ever came to my notice that prison officers were flaunting the new regulations, I would have no alternative but to apply the appropriate sanctions, up to and including expulsion from the prison service.

[Falkowska] What has been happening in the last few days? Has the wave of unrest been increasing or abating?

[Soroko] Some strikes are drawing to an end, whereas others are only beginning. Last Friday we saw the beginning of a strike in the printing shop in the prison on Rakowiecka Street, in Warsaw.

[Falkowska] Who are the instigators of these strikes?

[Soroko] Usually it is the long-term prisoners. This is the situation in Lodz where the protest was initiated by prisoners with very long sentences. In the prison on Rakowiecka Street, one of the chief instigators of the strike is Grzegorz Piotrowski.

[Falkowska] One of the killers of Father Popieluszko. Do you sometimes not suspect that all these strikes are specially instigated?

[Soroko] I have no information on this. I believe that all political forces wish to have calm in the country, and this includes the prisons.

[Falkowska] What in your opinion is the best way out of this situation?

[Soroko] Without the use of force. Prison administrations are conducting negotiations and will continue to negotiate with the prisoners. We receive a lot of assistance from the Sejm deputies and senators—not forgetting the prison chaplains. We want to resolve those demands that are possible to resolve. The prisoners should, however, return to normal work. The costs of the strike run into millions of zlotys. It may end up that quite proper demands may not be implemented, owing to a lack of financial means.

[Falkowska] In the event the strikes die down, will there be any measures taken against the strike instigators?

[Soroko] I promise that there will not be any consequences.

Civic Militia To Reduce Riot Police

LD2809190489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] By order of the minister of internal affairs all ZOMO [riot police] units are being disbanded now.

In 22 voivodship, MO [civic militia] prevention units are being set up. These units will specialize in patrol duties and their function will be to ensure that there is peace and order. This has been reported by the MO commander in chief, General Zenon Trzcinski, at a session of the social MO council.

Proposals at Vienna Arms Talks Reviewed

AU2509192489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1814 GMT 25 Sep 89

["For the Achievement of Accords Meeting Requirements of European Disarmament and Security"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/9/1989—Actively participating in the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces, Romania works for the achievement of disarmament, confidence and security-building in the European continent. In this framework, the Romanian proposals envisage a military balance at ever lower levels so that the European states should retain armed forces and conventional armaments for defense only. Pursuing this basic goal, these proposals refer to 50 per cent cuts in the troops of the two military alliances until 2000, in a differentiated way, considering each country's number of troops in parallel with 50 per cent cuts in their military spending; reductions should be made by stages and states should pledge not to use the means thus released for other military purposes, but in peaceful economic and social fields.

In connection with the talks in new confidence- and security-building measures in Europe, which parallel the talks on troops and conventional armaments, Romania is of the opinion, in order to help implement the first accords already next year, responsible factors of the two alliances should hold discussion in seminars on military doctrines to approach constructively concrete aspects of their military policies, the necessary adjustments to be made in the specific conditions after the reductions. In this respect, they should not discuss academically, but deal with practical aspects relative to the organization and location of military forces which make them offensive or defensive.

The Romanian proposals put forward so far in this forum also cover the limitation of military activities, the creation of security corridors and areas between states and military alliances, the prevention of nuclear accidents, the improvement of communication, contacts and interstate consultations, the extension of confidence and security measures to the activity of air and naval forces. Romania also states for exchanges of military information and improvement of notification, observation and verification procedures, building on the Stockholm documents and other measures, mostly for the limitation of military activities in Europe.

Considering that the two sets of talks in Vienna are obviously interdependent, Romania reminds the participants that they should agree on and carry into effect efficient measures to strengthen security, confidence and cooperation in a Europe free of armaments, of military aggression and threats. Romania takes the view that one set of talks should not depend on the other's results, but the two sets of negotiations should proceed in parallel and influence each other, so as to strengthen stability and security in Europe, achieve a stable and secure balance of conventional armed forces, at lower levels through the elimination of disparities and of the capability for launching surprise attacks and for initiating large-scale offensive action and the consolidation of confidence and security of all nations in the continent.

Balkans Without Foreign Military Bases Favored

AU2809172989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1719 GMT 28 Sep 89

["Creation of a Zone of Peace and Cooperation in the Balkans as Part of Security and Cooperation in Europe and the World"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 28/9/1989—By promoting a foreign policy of broad cooperation, Romania has paid a special attention to the ensurance of a climate of peace, security and fruitful cooperation in the Balkans, "ROMANIA LIBERA" writes in a foreign news commentary of 28 September. For the attainment of this goal, the newspaper shows, Romania starts from the general idea that the basis for a fruitful cooperation of the Balkan states, like of all the states of the world, should firmly be the principles of equality, respect for national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in domestic affairs, nonrecourse to the threat and use of force, the settlement of all disputed problems by peaceful ways, by negotiations only.

By taking action on that line, Romania has managed to build good relations with all Balkan states. A decisive role in the manifold development of Romania's ties with the other states in the region was played by President Nicolae Ceausescu's frequent meeting and talks with the leaders of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey in Bucharest, Sofia, Belgrade, Athens and Ankara, which added scope to traditional relationships, opening up new prospects and giving an impact to inter-Balkan cooperation. During the summits, Romania steadfastly supported the idea of frequent meetings and contacts at all levels.

Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu promoted broad initiatives, tabled many proposals for the elimination of nuclear arms in the area and for the Balkans to become a nuclear weapon-free zone. Romania takes the view that the creation of such a nuclear arms-free zone would go down as a specific contribution of the Balkan states to the restriction of the area where these means of destruction are deployed, and would set an example for similar measures to be taken also in other parts of the globe. Romania takes the view that, to begin with, the concerns could materialize in options of the Balkan states on the territory of which such arms are stationed not to deploy new ones or allow their modernization. Romania is of the opinion that the adoption of a solemn declaration of all states in the region not to produce, not to possess and not to buy chemical arms, as well as an agreement to cut back on conventional arms, military spending and budgets could help confidence-building and enhance the

security of states. Understandings apt to reduce and eventually dismantle foreign military bases would also have a positive effect.

By taking action to strengthen peace and security in the Balkans, Romania works for the entrenchment of manifold cooperative relations that stimulate understanding and a durable cooperation. In the economic field, important documents were concluded by Romania with Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and Albania, which give relations both stability and perspective. Against this background, Romania's cooperation with the Balkan countries ranges all the way from the complex use of the power potential of the Danube and cooperation in key branches of technology such as machine building, electronics, electrical engineering, chemical engineering, to the joint building of economic units of mutual interest in the steel, power or mining industries. Romania is firmly for the development of modern forms of cooperation, lower customs duties, cooperation on third markets, the establishment of joint companies, a growing cooperation in communications, transport optimization including waterways. In Romania's view, in the economic and technological potential of the Balkan states, their similar or close concerns with the implementation of socioeconomic development programmes are a serious reserve that has not been exhausted.

In approaching all these aspects, Romania starts from the idea that the Balkan states, beyond their different social system, and membership of different military blocs or alliances, have common interests related to the economic and social progress of every one, which calls for neighbourhood and geographic proximity, and long-time traditional links to be used to advantage.

Romania has made an important contribution to inter-Balkan meetings. A recent one was held in Bucharest at ministerial level on the theme of industrial cooperation and transfer of technology. It was preceded by the Balkan foreign ministerial meeting in Belgrade, by meetings of the representatives of the ministries of tourism, transport, the economy, and foreign trade, as well as expert meetings on various questions.

Along the same line, Romania put forward the proposal for a Balkan summit. Should this initiative materialize, it would enable the discussion of new measures to overcome the existing problems, build up confidence and increase cooperation. Assessing a summit meeting as topical, Romania takes the view that some problems that exist between Balkan countries should not be overdramatized. The starting point should be the idea that each Balkan country, like those around the world should sort out its own problems in freedom and independence, and that the people of the respective country alone can judge if a problem has been solved well or not.

Inter-Balkan cooperation can, in Romania's view, assume greater importance if it is extended to the whole of Europe and even beyond, to enable the adoption of measures promoting a faster pace of international cooperation in the economy and other areas, for the removal of all kinds of pressure and political conditioning, of all barriers to growing economic relations, and of the threats to world stability.

Ungur Meets Iranian Economic Officials

AU2509195989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 25 Sep 89

["Romanian-Iranian Economic Talks"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Tehran (AGERPRES) 25/9/1989—The Romanian minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, Ioan Ungur, paid a visit to Tehran over September 23-26 upon an invitation of the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

On the occasion, the Romanian minister was received by Ma'sud Roghani Zanjani, vice-chairman, head of the plan and budget organization, and had talks with the ministers of commerce, agriculture, industries, heavy industry and with the governor of the Central Bank of Iran. During the talks a survey was made of the achievements scored in the cooperation between the two countries in the economic and trade fields, especially as a result of the decisions made at top level at the beginning of this year. At the same time, new possibilities of cooperation in domains of common interest were identified.

New actions of cooperation, of transfer of technology, of expanding and diversifying bilateral economic and industrial cooperation were examined.

Slovene Potrc's News Conference on Amendments

LD2809012889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2127 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Sep (TANJUG)—Following the proclamation of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, we must invest even greater efforts to explain to Yugoslavia and to all the republics and provinces, through direct contacts in the coming weeks, the real meaning of the changes in the constitution which Miran Potrc, president of the Slovene Assembly and the constitutional commission, stressed in talks with journalists immediately after the proclamation of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution.

Potrc said that it was necessary to explain to the public and to everyone in Yugoslavia that the amendments are not destroying Yugoslavia, are not giving rise to differing positions of the republics and provinces, and are not reducing the authority of the federal institutions. In his view there will be a debate in the constitutional court of the SFRY and in the federal chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly. It is his desire that this debate should take place in a more peaceful atmosphere in which it will be possible, as Potrc assesses, to resolve the majority of issues.

Miran Potrc said that in proclaiming the amendments the delegates of the Slovene Assembly had done what the Slovene people expected of them. According to Potrc important efforts lie ahead to adopt in a relatively short time some very important laws, including the electoral law and the law on political association.

Protests Increase Over Slovene Adoption Decision

LD2809202789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1903 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 28 (TANJUG)—Yesterday's adoption of the controversial amendments to the Consitituion of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia has today given rise to [word indistinct] of protests at political meetings and popular rallies throughout Yugoslavia, where the amendments have been said to destabilize the country.

Thirty thousand people gathered in Novi Sad, Province of Vojvodina, to protest against the Slovene parliament's decision, taken in defiance of the stands of the Yugoslav state and party leadership, to incorporate in its constitution a provision guaranteeing the Slovene people's sovereign right to self-determination, including the right to secession or association.

The amendments, it was heard at the Novi Sad rally, deny to the federal state and army their constitutionally guaranteed authorities in the territory of Slovenia, the most highly industrialized of the Yugoslav republics.

The provincial presidency was unpleasantly surprised by the presence of president of the Yugoslav State Presidency Janez Drnovsek at yesterday's session of the Slovene parliament which, the provincial organ maintains, adopted amendments which clash with the Yugoslav Federal Constitution.

The war veterans' organization of the Republic of Montenegro has even asserted that Drnovsek can no longer head the Yugoslav State Presidency because, by returning ahead of schedule from the United Nations' General Assembly session in New York, he personally upheld the Slovene amendments which the Montenegrin veterans assess as a betrayal of Yugoslavia.

The provincial party presidencies of Vojvodina and Kosovo have joined in the protests against the adoption of the amendments which they regard as being aimed against Yugoslavia's single legal system and integrity.

According to reports coming in from Ljubljana, the Slovene leadership is receiving telegrams of support from all over Slovenia and from individual towns in the other Yugoslav Republics, while protests against the amendments continue at meetins and rallies in Belgrade, Kargujevac, Sombor and other towns.

Some meetings, like that of the war veterans of a municipality in Zagreb, Republic of Croatia, also voiced a demand for putting a stop to conflicts between the republican leaderships and for the communists to reappraise nationalistic outbursts first in their own midst.

Slovene Amendments Make 'Loose Confederation'

AU2809224289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Zivojin Jerotijevic commentary]

[Text] As of yesterday, Slovenia is an exclusive state unit within the Yugoslav community. Viewed from the constitutional and legal angle, this republic has in fact used the privileges acquired through a unilateral political will and ensured a legal clause to make it possible to leave our federation's state structure and social architecture. Does it mean that, as of yesterday, Yugoslavia is a community of uneven and unequal units, a special kind of loose confederation, and therefore a formation contrary to the concept of the second Yugoslavia, the one established by AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and created during the people's liberation struggle and socialist revolution under Tito's leadership.

By adopting the constitutional amendments, Slovenia's political establishment has grabbed for its republic such competences as no other federal unit has, and thereby revealed the background of the long concealed idea of the new face of Yugoslav democracy before the eyes of the entire Yugoslav public. It is now perfectly clear why the Slovene political leadership was excessively tolerant about the authors of the new Slovene national program published several years ago in the NOVA REVIJA periodical, why it treated benignly Taras Kermauner's poisonous Letters to a Serbian Friend. Also perfectly clear is : the real role of young storm troopers gathered around

the allegedly radical youth paper MLADINA, and what the point of the philosophy of multiparty pluralism and, within this framework, the creation of alternative alliances with stressed political ambitions. And, last but not least, it is clear what was meant to be concealed by the propaganda campaign launched against Serbia and its leadership and by accusations that it is, as it is still called, an impediment to progress and the main obstacle to Slovenia becoming the small Switzerland. There is no doubt any longer, the Slovenia's exclusive status acts as a torpedo directed at the bow of Yugoslavia as established by AVNOJ, because the amendments adopted yesterday represent a constitutional and legal ground for the promotion of a third Yugoslavia.

Of course, the new situation broaches many question to which one cannot find complete answers at this moment. Among other things the following: Who has sent General Veljko Kadijevic's strictly confidential letter to the MLADINA editorial board so that it has published it in the already sold-out issue which bears tomorrow's date? How is one to understand a cynical statement by Joze Smole. In answer to a journalist's question he literally says the following: Belgrade has let us know that Gen Kadijevic is still the federal secretary for national defense. Another example: What will be the future behavior of those republican leaderships who have voted against the document of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which demanded—unfortunately, to no avail—that the adoption of Slovene amendments be postponed. There is also the following question: What can the rest of Yugoslavia really do after Slovenia cuts away from the family [word indistinct]. Will it indifferently observe how the path is being cleared for the division of the Yugoslav territory? Will the other federal units follow the sorry example and accept the Slovene model of the society to suit the man? Which society and what kind of man? Is it the man from the well-known badge who is explaining to little Slovenes that, when they grow up they will be customs officials at the Sutla [river between Slovenia and Croatia].

Protests against legalizing the asymmetrical federation voiced throughout Yugoslavia make little impact on the Slovene leadership. If one is to judge according to television reports, its mood is radiant and in such a mood even cardinal omissions are possible. For example, one can lose the bird in hand while grabbing for the two already high among the clouds.

Suvar Gives Presidency's Views on Amendments

AU2809205489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] State Presidency Member Dr Stipe Suvar addressed the Croatian Assembly delegates late this afternoon and briefed them on the talks between the SFRY Presidency members and the Slovene leaders, the way both sides created their opinions about the Slovene Constitution amendments adopted yesterday, and how one can solve the constitutional crisis. Here is a report from Zagreb by Vesna Knezevic:

This is the way Dr Stipe Suvar described the communications between the state presidency and the Slovene leadership during the entire procedure of the work on that republic's constitutional amendments: We in the presidency were tolerant, even if we made mistakes and when we did so, and the representatives of the Slovene state and political bodies were intolerant and maximalist. Calling it his personal opinion, Suvar said that the work on the Slovene constitutional amendments was done in the most democratic and serious way, compared to other federal units. Nevertheless, the five or six controversial amendments to the Slovene Constitution are at variance with the 1974 SFRY Constitution; and the SFRY Presidency, being responsible for protecting constitutional order, wanted to act preventively and obviate the consequences of amendments which clash with the federal constitution.

In a constitutional crisis, federal bodies will act in conformity with the federal constitution and not with the constitution of one of our federal units.

Speaking about the political aspect of the Slovene amendments adopted yesterday, Suvar pointed out that Slovenia does not intend to secede from Yugoslavia, so all, I quote, that has been started by some individuals at meetings and now looms over Slovenia is not good, because nobody can bring Slovenia to its knees, exert pressure on it, or dictate conditions to it. However, nobody can unilaterally undermine the country's constitutional setup either, as has been done in Slovenia by adopting the controversial amendments, Dr Suvar said.

The Yugoslav People's Army has not occupied this country, it is a people's army and therefore, Dr Suvar said, no speaker at a meeting has any right to threaten to use arms or send the Army to any part of Yugoslavia. The people who are threatening this country and its federal units with the Army are irresponsible.

Stipe Suvar spoke about the legal procedure of examining the relation of the Slovene constitutional amendments to the SFRY Constitution. Therefore, before any further steps are made, one must wait for the Yugoslav Constitutional Court to make its judgment as requested by the SFRY Assembly.

In taking its views on the proposals of the Slovene amendments, Dr Suvar said, the SFRY Presidency did not follow the dictate of any of its members or of any republic, but it also cannot be denied the competence to discuss the constitutions of the federal units.

Now something about the mood in the Croatian Assembly in the wake of the Slovene Assembly's adoption of the amendments. We can cite two official reactions: First, speaking at the morning session of all three chambers, Assembly President Dr Andjelko Runjic did not call amendments by name but used the term the latest events and said that the sovereignty of a people

cannot be used up, just as its right to self-determination, self-identity, social organization, and even secession cannot be used up. These are the rights which live with a people as long as that people lasts and cannot be used up with one generation and one kind of politics, Dr Andjelko Runjic said. Here is another example: A delegate to the Croatian Assembly Sociopolitical Chamber demanded that the Yugoslav People's Army leadership dissociate itself from the speech Momir Bulatovic, League of Communists of Montenegro Central Committee president, made in Titograd yesterday.

TANJUG Reports Suvar

LD2809230889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2110 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 28 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency's obligation under the Yugoslav constitution to protect the constitutional order in the country also includes the question of whether the constitution of a federal unit is in compliance with the federal constitution, member of the Yugoslav Presidency Stipe Suvar said in a conversation with representatives of the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia in Zagreb.

Speaking about the amendments to the constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, which were adopted yesterday and some of which are controversial—because they could be used for Slovenia to secede from Yugoslavia or for the Slovenian Assembly to prevent the imposition of a state of emergency on Slovenian territory even if the Yugoslav Presidency reached a conclusion that such a step was necessary—Suvar said that the presidency had been of the opinion that some Slovenian amendments, then still in draft form, could have had graver consequences if it was established after their adoption that they were not in compliance with the Federal Constitution, and had thus believed that it was better to act in a preventive way.

There were, in Suvar's view, deficiencies in the entire communication procedure between the Yugoslav Presidency and Slovenia. The Yugoslav Presidency acted with extreme care and tolerance, but the responses were not in that vein.

Suvar said that assessments should be made on the basis of the 1974 constitution, which is the target of much criticism but is in force at the moment and should as such be respected.

Ideas for a new constitution, which we shall all adopt jointly, cannot be built into current documents as long as the 1974 constitution is in force, he said.

As far as disagreements with the formulations of some of the Slovenian amendments are concerned, Suvar said that no one desired to throw Slovenia and its people down on their knees, nor to dictate to them, but we all want all the federal units in Yugoslavia to be equal and in that respect none can one-sidedly violate the constitutional order.

Suvar assessed as extremely sensitive the question of manipulations with the possibility of a state of emergency. Let us dismiss the petty bourgeois who are constantly spreading fears that Tiananmen could spread to Trieste. It is well known what our army is and what is its general command. No one in this country has the right to harbour any doubts that the army would act as an occupier towards the nations whose instrument it is—all the nations to an equal degree.

Suvar asked how individuals could have the right to threaten by way of rallies to send the army against a republic or a nation. These persons are frivolous and irresponsible, to say the least. No one has any right to doubt that a state of emergency will be imposed in this country only in the event of a dire necessity—on account of widespread civil disturbances or an armed rebellion.

Suvar also reflected on the extension of the special measures in Kosovo, recalling that the only decrees still in force were a ban on assembling for the purpose of demonstrating and a regulation on compulsory work which is in force in five work organizations in the province.

Touching on the problem of the isolated persons and recalling that the presidency had on several occasions made public that the issue disturbed it, Suvar said that all countries in the world had a similar legal institution.

According to Suvar, the Presidency has been informed that transgressions by security organs had taken place towards the isolated persons, about which it was awaiting a more thorough information from competent organs.

Presidency Member Tupurkovski Views Amendments

LD2909085189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2021 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Mostar, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—Far more progress has been made in economic reform than in changes to the political system, which may have a very negative effect on the overall reform of our society. This was stressed by Member of the SFRY Presidency Dr Vasil Tupurkovski who was visiting Mostar today, where he addressed the city's political aktiv on the current political situation in Yugoslavia and in the world. [passage omitted]

Tupurkovski cited as reasons for lagging behind in reform of the political system the exhausting and long-standing quarrels and suspicions between the leaderships and entire communities, the creation of a situation of self-isolation and self-sufficiency, in which there is an innately negative attitude toward all external initiatives and activities. The greatest danger is posed by the increasing escalation of nationalisms which are almost completely blocking the possibility of our nations and nationalities, for a variety of reasons and objectively differing interests, from creating conditions for a new quality of coexistence. I see as the greatest tragedy for

our country and its people the fact that we have allowed such an essentially noncivilizing trend and retrograde phenomenon to assume an uncontrolled course and to become dominant on the political stage, Tupurkovski said, adding that nationalism has now infiltrated the most progressive forces, including the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia]

Replying to a question on the adopted amendments to the Slovene Constitution, Tupurkovski said that it is impermissable to ascribe to any nation the hypothesis that it does not care about Yugoslavia, that it is not interested in it, because this is not so in the case of Slovenia either. He expressed the belief that the present situation is the result of the long-term absence of serious, cultivated, and patient dialogue and work to create conditions for improving the quality of coexistence.

Now, after the adoption of the Slovene constitutional amendments, some of which have given rise to doubts in other parts of the country, Tupurkovski considers that we must test our ability to responsibly seek solutions to common problems through the constitutional judiciary and other legal assembly and judicial institutions. If such legal proceedings find that certain Slovene amendments are not in accordance with the SFRY Constitution, the only way out of the constitutional crisis which is then sure to arise, is dialogue and patient political work in all environments, Tupurkovski ascertained. Only through the force of argument and respect for common interests, which also contain the interests of all parts of our country, is it possible to find a way out of the impasse. There is no question of any kind of force in resolving the accumulated internal discrepancies and problems, including the current disagreements in connection with the Slovene amendments, Tupurkovski categorically stated, adding that this naturally does not refer to a threat to the integrity and wholeness of Yugoslavia, in defense of which all available means will be used.

Tupurkovski agreed with the view that many federal organs, including the SFRY Presidency, reacted impermissably late to the constitutional changes in Slovenia, and that as a result of such delay at the last moment there was a veritable flood of reactions and meetings, which together created a dramatic situation and caused additional alarm for all our people.

Assessing the majority of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution as the greatest breakthrough in the democratization of social life in Yugoslavia and as an important achievement for the Slovene people, which may serve as an example to the others, Tupurkovski said in conclusion that Slovenia should, despite the late reaction of federal organs, have shown more understanding over the comments and disagreements in connection with its unilateral probing into the constitutional material which regulates our common life and represents the foundation of the federal organization of our community. [passage omitted]

Slovene Alternative Groups on Changes

AU2809113789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Sep 89 p 5

[V. Simonovic report: "Advocating a Referendum"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 19 Sep—All the political organizations and associations in the alternative bloc in Slovenia are united in the view that the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia, which the SFRY Presidency holds to be controversial, are not against the SFRY Constitution, and that they should be adopted following a referendum. Joze Skoljc, president of the Slovene Youth Federation, expressed the view that the assessment issued by the SFRY Presidency exceeds the sphere of its competence, but also suggested that people in Slovenia should behave responsibly concerning it. "Without panic, and without seeking to gain popularity on the basis of national anxiety, we repeat our old demand that the Slovene Assembly should announce a referendum on the adoption of amendments to the Slovene Constitution."

"Our stand is that such a crucial social document must be adopted by means of a referendum," Skoljc said. "We demanded this on the occasion of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution, and we demand it now. If, with the results of the referendum, we were to shut somebody's mouth, this would be a secondary effect. The most important thing is for the citizens of the SR of Slovenia themselves to decide the new political order in Slovenia, which the new amendments will introduce."

The Slovene Green Alliance also insists on the introduction of the right to self-determination into the basic principles of the Slovene Constitution. Dusan Plut of this alliance declared that they likewise insist on the sovereignty of the citizens of Slovenia, observing that it is impossible to separate political and economic sovereignty, which are conditions for the creation of democratic relations among the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

France Tomsic, president of the Slovene Social Democratic Alliance, also advocates a referendum on the constitutional changes. Tomsic also added that Slovenia cannot and will not give up these amendments. "Of course, we do not want these changes to cover only the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia, for we consider that the other peoples of Yugoslavia also want amendments of this kind, for they remove the tutelage of large peoples over small ones. These changes determine Yugoslavia's future destiny." Tomsic also said that everybody in both official and alternative political circles is united over these amendments, and that nobody can say that they are being supported by a small group gathered around Joze Smole.

Joze Petrle from the Slovene Christian Socialist Movement firmly protested against the assessment of the SFRY Presidency, calling the SFRY Presidency's measure a form of duress. "We would also have protested if

the SFRY Presidency had taken the view that the controversial amendments really are contrary to the SFRY Constitution, because it is a question of fundamental rights, which nobody has the right to deny in the name of higher purposes. A federation which does not permit us full sovereignty is unacceptable to us. We have already emphasized in our statements on constitutional matters that the constitutions adopted in the republics can be the only basis for the federal Constitution.

Franc Zagozen of the Slovene Peasants Alliance considers the argument over the amendments as a form of unitarist pressure from the south, and that Slovenia should strongly resist such pressure. At the same time, Zagozen observed that official Slovene political circles should behave differently under this pressure, because they are now exploiting it for their own ends, seeking to establish a kind of unity in Slovenia. Among other things, Zagozen said, they are urging the signature of the fundamental documents, without showing the same eagerness to sign the "May declaration," which laid down the sovereignty of the Slovene people more firmly, because it was not bound by ideology.

Hubert Pozarnik, president of the Slovene Democratic Alliance, observed that the issue is very sensitive, and that he did not wish to express an opinion on it until the alliance's Executive Committee had adopted a statement.

Daljevic Opposes Proposed Slovene Amendments

AU2809141089 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Sep 89 p 5

[M. Bozic report: "Controversial Slovene Amendments"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade—The social policy has not been adjusted to the economic and social crisis. This was stated by Jelena Milojevic, president of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, in her introductory speech. She was of the opinion that there was a lack of expert, organizational, and material readiness to deal with present conditions and that a similar thing will happen in the future.

The current social position of the working people and citizens is considerably constraining reforms, Jelena Milojevic said. The fact that about 63 percent of the total number of employed people has a personal income lower that the average personal income in Yugoslavia, which is about $210 a month, clearly points to the devaluation of work.

Radisa Gacic, federal secretary for labor, health, and social policy, also took part in the discussion. He stressed that the solutions to social problems must be primary based on the economic and development policy. [passage omitted]

Since the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia has decided to discuss the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, Milan Daljevic [former undersecretary of national defense, now retired] asked to speak. He stressed that six amendments are not in accord with the SFRY Constitution and that the Socialist Alliance will, which is its duty, have to do something so that these amendments are brought into agreement with the SFRY Constitution before they are adopted. Daljevic especially pointed out the amendments 9, 47, and 43. They stress the right to self-determination including secession, abolish in a certain way the right of the SFRY Presidency to decide on the state of emergency (because, according to the amendment, this could not happen without Slovenia's consent), and hinder the implementation of the federations' decisions. These amendments are in contradiction with internal and international laws. According to Daljevic, Yugoslavia is not jointly owned by the people so that they may use it according to their own discretion. In all modern constitutions of a federal type, the Federal Constitution is dominant. After World War II, the right to self-determination has become a positive international right, but, Daljevic observed, in all these documents state unity is given priority. This is also emphasized in the UN Declaration. Daljevic also demanded that the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia reexamine and supplement the amendments because in their present form they set a precedent, they destroy the integrity of the SFRY, endanger the efficiency of using armed forces, and paralyze some vital functions of the federation. He also demanded that the SFRY Assembly Constitutional Commission hold session and that the Federal Chamber assess the work of this commission and adopt its own conclusions and stands. Daljevic also mentioned some views expressed in the Italian and Swiss press which attack Yugoslavia, Tito, and the army, and demanded that the Socialist Alliance adopt a stand on that, because "nobody has the right to auction off any of our country's parts, regardless of whether this refers to Istria or Kosovo. Every part of Yugoslavia is ours."

Assessing the amendments, Ljubomir Varoslija, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, stressed that the Presidium of Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia proceeded from its own capacity and role, and devoted its attention to the ideopolitical aspects, guiding itself by the established policy of the League of Communists on the concept of the Yugoslav federation. The right to self-determination including secession encroaches upon the existing relations in the federation. These relations cannot be solved by any republic's unilateral decisions. Not disputing the fact that the right of the people to self-determination is inalienable, Varoslija said that the public has received this amendment as an announcement of changes to the SFRY Constitution through unilateral changes of one republican constitution. From the political point of view, this is seen as moving the proclaimed stands closer to reality. As far as the peacetime use of armed forces is

concerned, he stressed that this amendment was in contradiction with the SFRY Constitution, because it would call into question the unity of the system of leading and commanding the SFRY armed forces. Regarding other amendments to the Slovene Constitution, they represent a shift forward and enrich our constitutional order, Varoslija said.

Marjan Kotar reacted to Milan Daljevic's speech expressing his disagreement with Daljevic's statement "some of the proposers," because the draft amendments have been publicly discussed for more than 6 months. [sentence as published] He also stressed that the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia has never adopted a stand that it will work on creating the essence of the republican and provincial constitutions. Regarding the essence of the amendments, some corrections have already been made because the Constitutional Commission adopted the final text of the amendments only last week. Kotar was of the opinion that the discussion was not only about the amendments, but also about functions of the Yugoslav federations. [passage omitted]

JNA Communists Comment on Slovene Crisis

LD2809214389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1447 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—The delegates to the electoral conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Organization in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense today elected a new committee of 35 members, a statutory and supervisory commission. Also elected were the delegates who will represent the communists of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense at the ninth conference of the LCY organisation in the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and at the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress.

At a session held immediately after the conference, the newly-elected committee elected as its president in a secret ballot Dimitrije Baucal, who is already holding the postion.

Emphasizing that nationalism is completely alien to the army, the introductory speaker, president of the committee of the LCY organization in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, Dimitrije Baucal, said that the communists in the JNA are fully aware that in the struggle against nationalism we will have to undergo a great test of responsibility—both personal and collective.

No one should be permitted, in the name of any goals, whether religious or national, historical, or ideological, to introduce divisions amongst the members of the JNA. The communists in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the army are committed to one path alone—the socialist, self-managing, popular, and Yugoslav path, stressed Baucal.

The period between the two congresses will be remembered for its exceptionally complex and dramatic events, such as the armed revolt of the Greater Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo, the unreasonable inflammation of nationalist passions, the disunity of the LCY, social tensions and astronomical inflation, as well as the unilateral demand for the legalization through constitutional changes of rights which are in direct contradiction to the existing Constitution of the SFRY.

No appeal to natural rights, Baucal stressed, to the protection of national and economic sovereignty, can conceal the unacceptable and unreasonable fact that in this way Yugoslavia is being clearly deemed a temporary community.

Recalling the call of the communists of the JNA at the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee for a way out of the crisis to be found and for the reform of the LCY to be tackled, the introductory speaker said that we now know that valuable time has been lost. The crisis has deepened and the LCY has lost more of its authority.

Instead of at least now, as political wisdom unambiguously demands, embarking resolutely on transformation, certain changes are still being postponed, there is insistence on compromise, changes that would make the LCY a united revolutionary organization are being blocked. Without this, as the last session of the LCY Central Committee shows, the party is inevitably turning into a debating club, the most significant generator of its own crisis, and thereby also of the crisis of society as a whole, Baucal assessed.

We are justifiably asking ourselves, Baucal added, whether the LCY is allowing yet another, perhaps crucial, if not the last chance slip by of finally taking the lead in the implementation of social reform and having a determining influence on its course and outcome.

When people sense that someone is considering or attempting to threaten the integrity and territorial whole of Yugoslavia, all other problems take second place. The whole of society, almost to a man, is rising to its feet to make it known to the world that it is ready to defend with all means the country, its wholeness and the inviolability of its borders, said Simeon Buncic.

This is the reaction to the mere thought or hint that the borders of the SFRY could possibly in a certain situation be changed. What would happen, he asked, if someone really attempted secession or foolishly tampered with an internal adjustment of borders in the SFRY.

Recalling that our society gave its answer to these questions long ago, Simeon Buncic stressed that in the army they are not raised because they are irrational. Let those who are offering us life in another kind of system and with other territorial divisions consider these questions, he continued.

There is nothing more natural, understandable, and normal than for our army and armed forces to always, just as now, stand together with the people throughout

Yugoslavia in the defense of the social system and territorial integrity of the SFRY, said Buncic.

Our army has always earned a very high regard in society for its behavior, unity, and clarity of its stands, he stressed, and said that "the army has become an important stabilizing factor in the SFRY." What the army is proposing in the present preparations for the LCY Congress and changes in the political system is being received in society with great confidence. This is where our great duty and particular responsibility lies, Buncic stressed.

Buncic noted that we have recently been faced with certain new cases of attacks on the JNA, such as the attempts at disputing its all-Yugoslav profile and the political orientation of the army. Certain public information media are ascribing narrow regional republican orientations to the army. By quoting out of context and using other means they are trying to prove that the JNA is moving toward or has accepted this or that political concept. However, he stressed, our army cannot be anyone's means for realizing one-sided interests.

We must measure up to this historical moment. The most important thing is to preserve our unity and moral strength, to be in our actions the army of all our nations and nationalities, to protect our working class, all-social and revolutionary character, said Simeon Buncic.

Taking part in the debate, Jovan Buturovic commented on some of the amendments to the constitution of the SR of Slovenia and said that the SFRY Presidency, as the Supreme Command, may use the armed forces in peace time to prevent or remove an emergency situation in five republics and two provinces without their approval, but in the sixth republic it must seek it. In a case where it did not receive the approval of the Slovene Assembly, the SFRY Presidency would have to sit with its arms folded, he said.

The principle of self-determination is contained in the basic principles of the SFRY Constitution and cannot be simply changed by the republican constitutions. Some of the most responsible leaders of the SR of Slovenia have been placating us by saying that they do not mean secesssion as a real possibility, but as a supposed principle, which is logically contradictory, Buturovic assessed. He went on to stress that those who wish to redraw the borders of Yugoslavia should know that the Helsinki documents confirmed the unchangeability and inviolability of the state borders in Europe.

The SFRY Constitution clearly states that our armed forces guard our independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and social system. We must therefore say loudly enough for all to hear, and clearly enough for all to understand—that there may be no secession from Yugoslavia, Jovan Buturovic stressed.

In the discussion proposals were put forward for the greater and more comprehensive use of the achievements of science, and it was said that cases of idleness, violation of valid moral norms, and bureaucratic attitudes toward people should be resolutely opposed.

Novi Sad Meeting Protests Slovene Amendments

AU2809144489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] After the morning sessions of communal and provincial organs of the sociopolitical organizations of Vojvodina, and after meetings of workers and youths, at which indignation was expressed all over Vojvodina at the adoption of the disputed amendments to the Slovene Constitution, a mass meeting for the protection of Yugoslavia began in Novi Sad about 1 hour ago. Here is what Nada Zamurovic reports:

The meeting began with the singing of the national anthem and chanting of Yugoslavia. It was convened at the request of the workers and citizens of Novi Sad to express their indignation because of the Slovene Assembly act, which did not take into account the opinion of other parts of the country but with its unilateral decision undermined the constitutional system of the country.

The meeting was opened by Mirko Djukic, president of the Novi Sad Trade Union City Council. The speakers after him were Jugoslav Kostic, president of the Presidency of Vojvodina; Ljubomir Knezevic, secretary of the Novi Sad Trade Union City Council; Mladen Obradovic, a worker at Jugoalat, and other workers and citizens. They unanimously protested against the separatist decision of the leadership and Assembly of Slovenia, and demanded of the political and state organs of Yugoslavia to undertake all the measures provided by the Constitution to protect the unity and integrity of the country.

This morning, the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina issued a statement in connection with the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of Socialist Republic of Slovenia, in which it says that it supports the assessments and positions of the party and state organs of the country and other organs and institutions at the federal level about the disputed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina especially stressed that it was necessary that the SFRY Constitution be consistently and comprehensively implemented until this untenable situation is overcome, so at to prevent the undermining of the unified legal system and the stability and integrity of the country.

The sessions of the presidiums of the Socialist Alliance of Working People Provincial Committee, the Vojvodina Trade Union Provincial Council, and the Provincial Conference of the Vojvodina Socialist Youth Federation in Novi Sad, and the meetings of the communal

organs of the sociopolitical organizations all over Vojvodina, adopted essentially identical stances on the adoption of the disputed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia.

The SFRY Presidency should assess the conduct of its president, Janez Drnovsek, who interrupted his stay at the United Nations to attend the adoption of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution, it was said at the session of the Presidency of Vojvodina today. It is our unreserved determination to strengthen the Yugoslav spirit and to respect the 1.7 million sacrifices made for this Yugoslavia, said Jugoslav Kostic, president of the Vojvodina Presidency.

He then went on to say that the SFRY Constitution is older than other constitutions and that the Slovene comrades should know that this constitution should be applied throughout Yugoslavia.

Slovene Radio Cites Montenegrin 'Saber Rattling'

AU2809170889 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] One is not really disturbed if an unskilled worker or a peasant appears at the microphone at some meeting and in his blessed innocence threatens Slovenia and its leadership and all the Slovenes. It is worse, not to say incomprehensible, if this is done by a president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists, as Momir Bulatovic did in Titograd yesterday. After his speech we may indeed only ask, Nadja Pengov says, whether the Titograd meeting was not just a prologue to something bigger.

The Montenegrins at the anti-Slovene gathering in Titograd yesterday did not call for violins, but for arms. The threat was uttered aloud this time, in front of the entire Yugoslav audience, and nobody bothered to withdraw it. Nobody objected to it either, not even the Montenegrin politicians attending the meeting.

On the contrary: the Montenegrin politicians themselves openly joined in the saber rattling this time. What was inscribed on the banners and what one of the voices shouting from the crowd demanded, and what Momir Bulatovic, the leading man of the Montenegrin Party, offered to his aroused people with their empty stomachs, differed only in one point.

While the hungry defenders of Yugoslavia demanded arms for themselves so that they may defend a Yugoslavia won with the blood of our ancestors—who knows, or who cares, that Yugoslavia was won with some drops of Slovene blood, too? —Momir Bulatovic told them that the arms have been supplied: they are the arms held by the Yugoslav People's Army, and we are all soldiers and we will defend Yugoslavia and the SFRY Constitution with arms.

Momir Bulatovic thus publicly threatened actions with arms—which is to say with a state emergency—only a few hours after the marathon session of the federal Party leadership had concluded. At that session, representatives of Serbia, the republic that has closest brotherly links with Montenegro, called the warnings by the Slovene Central Committee members about state of emergency threats pure manipulation by the Slovenes.

The leading man of Montenegro also calls for blood now. His blindness, or perhaps rather fear of his own people who are offered circuses instead of a clear program of political and economic reforms, so that they may forget bread, exceed the limits of reason.

How can we live together, how can we create a new and better Yugoslavia, (?how we can strive for) normal relations among people who are deeply involved in a quarrel in this Yugoslav territory that, after all, is common to us all, with this additional inflaming of passions? What else but inciting more intolerance among us, Slovenes, can be the point of a politician who on one side swears by Yugoslavia and turns a deaf ear to all the arguments by the Slovene representatives at a session of the Party leadership, while on the other side he calmly tolerates a hothead at the microphone who chases the Slovenes, barefooted and naked, from Yugoslavia and from their land?

Do you remember the statements that Serbia and Montenegro are two eyes in the same head? In this connection I would remind you of another detail from yesterday's meeting. Our listeners probably remember the speech by the Serbian leader in front of the federal assembly building not so long ago, when he promised to the people that Vlasi will be arrested. Yesterday, the Montenegrin Party leader also made a promise to his people. Indeed he did not quite promise arrests, but he promised that the Slovene leadership will be called to account in a few days.

The methods are obviously the same. The question is only who the teacher is, and whether the yesterday's meeting is not just a prologue to something bigger.

Skopje 'Condemns' Disunity Caused by Amendments

AU2809205889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] The communists, working people, and citizens of Skopje most harshly condemn the occurrences of disunity in the country and do not accept the unilateral changes in the Slovene Constitution, because they are of the opinion that these changes encroach on the foundations of the Yugoslav Federation. They demand of competent bodies to ensure the most strict implementation of all laws and constitutional provisions with a view to overcoming the untenable situation in the country in the wake of the adoption of these amendments.

The interethnic relations are now extremely aggravated, particularly between republican leaderships and they threaten to endanger relations among the peoples themselves, which must not be allowed.

Kosovo Party Presidium on Slovene Amendments

AU2809175389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] The Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo has assessed that the political and security situation in the province is very grave, but that some favorable trends can also be noticed. Stances about the adoption of amendments to the Slovene Constitution have also been adopted at the session. Here is a report from Pristina by Milivoje Mihajlovic:

The main indicator that party tasks have not been implemented is the unabated emigration of ethnic Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. Albanian nationalists and separatists still make themselves noticed by slogans and leaflets. In his introductory speech, Dobrosav Radovic said that separatists have written about 600 slogans and distributed 400 leaflets in the period from April to September this year. At the same time, 270 attacks on security service workers and 50 on against members of the Yugoslav People's Army and military facilities have been registered. Apart from physical attacks, separatists have also staged some armed attacks. Such actions are fomented in particular by hostile Albanian emigres. It was said during the debate that the level of understanding and tolerance in Kosovo has considerably increased, but no radical moves have yet been made to overcome interethnic distrust. Albanian nationalists now reckon with disunity in Yugoslavia. They voice the demand for the secession of Kosovo more openly and demand the support of a foreign factor, because they are counting on the division of Yugoslavia.

It was asserted that ideological differentiation meets with great opposition. During the first 6 months, 1,100 members were expelled from the party and 2,600 party reprimands were pronounced. However, it was stressed that a large number of responsible people have been moved to higher posts and are waiting for this wave of differentiation to end. Most Albanian intellectuals do not take part in the activities to stabilize the situation in the province.

Regarding the adoption of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution, the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo concluded that such constitutional provisions have already had far-reaching political consequences for the country's constitutional setup, because they are aimed at breaking up the SFRY.

We cannot reconcile ourselves to the introduction of confederalism. The Kosovo Communists have raised their voice against Albanian nationalism and against the redesigning of the borders, and they cannot allow anybody to work on breaking Yugoslavia apart. The Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo demands that the implementation of those provisions of the Slovene Constitution that break Yugoslavia apart be prevented. We demand that all means be used to prevent the intentions of the Slovene leadership, through which it is sacrificing both the Slovene people and the brotherhood and unity of the entire country, the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo pointed out.

Urges Use of 'All Means'

LD2809173389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1424 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Pristina, 28 Sep (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee today expressed its concern at the fact that, despite the political and legal assessment of the SFRY Presidency and other competent organs in the Federation and the positionsd of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Central Committee, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia adopted the amendments which contradicte the principles of the SFRY Constitution and bring into question the territorial integrity and survival of the SFRY.

The positions unanimously adopted today by the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee stress that such constitutional solutions will have, and are already having, far-reaching political consequences for the constitutional organization of the country, because they break down the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia.

The positions further emphasize that the SFRY was created in a war and revolution as an equal community of all nations and nationalities, and only as such can it survive. The introduction of confederalism is the beginning of the breakdown of our country and we cannot reconcile ourselves with this.

The communists of Kosovo, the positions emphasize, have spoken up against Albanian nationalism in Kosovo and against the redrawing of borders, and likewise will not allow anyone else in the country to work for its disintegration. The Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee is speaking up in defense of the integrity of the country and demands the prevention of the application of the Constitution, or rather those solutions in the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia which dismember and destroy Yugoslavia.

We call for all means to be used to put a stop to the aspirations of the Slovene leadership, which are sacrificing the Slovene people and brotherhood and unity throughout the country, the stands of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee underline, stressing that this executive-political organ gave its prompt support to the assessments and stances of the SFRY Presidency and LCY Central Committee Presidium, and called for all measures to be taken in order to implement them consistently, in other words it took a timely and clear stand on this important political issue.

News Conference Held on Kosovo Situation

LD2709214889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1943 GMT 27 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 27 (TANJUG)—Together with the aggressive activities of the Albanian separatists, the situation in Kosovo is further aggravated by the economic counter-revolution, member of the top party leadership of this Yugoslav province, Baskim Hisari, told foreign journalists at a press conference here on Wednesday.

Hisari said that following the replacement of the former Kosovo leadership, the provincial bodies have become more efficient in the settlement of problems. Although there are less interethnic conflicts, the Albanian separatist movement continues its undercover activities with increased aggression aided, he said, by the discord in the Yugoslav leadership, supported by the extremist emigration from abroad and continuous anti-Yugoslav propaganda from neighbouring Albania.

The senior party official said that in the first six months this year 1,075 Serbs and Montenegrins, and 25 Croats fled Kosovo, and there are also indications that a number of Turks departed for Turkey.

Especially concerning, Hisari said, is that an additional 1,000 people have requested permission to emigrate from the province, whle the number of those who want to return is very low.

The foreign journalists were also told that the serious economic situation in Kosovo is complicated even more by work obstruction in firms, which is why only 65 percent of capacities are in use and production is dropping.

During the first three months this year, when the ethnic-Albanian demonstrations grew into a rebellion with elements of an armed revolt, 55,000 workers went on strike, causing the loss of two million working hours and inflicting economic damage of 160 billion dinars (1 U.S. dollar = 35,146 dinars).

Kosovo Prime Minister Jovan Bogicevic, also present at the press conference, said that Kosovo's debt is 2.7 times the Yugoslav average, and that investment possibilities are very limited. This is why the province almost exclusively depends on aid provided by the federal fund for the underdeveloped.

Kosovo's economy, Bogicevic said, is burdened by the 24-promile birth rate (the highest in Europe) and the large number of school- children and students-as many as 50,000.

It is encouraging, he said, that the province's exports rose by 25 percent in the first eight months this year, and estimates are that they will amount to 100 million dollars by the end of the year.

Stari Trg Strike Termed 'Political' in Kosovo

AU2809210389 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] Assessing the political and security situation in Titova Mitrovica following the latest work stoppage by the Stari Trg miners, the League of Communists Communal Committee Presidium of Titova Mitrovica held a meeting today, at which a communique was issued stating that the work stoppage at Stari Trg, which was started on 26 of the current month by the workers of the third shift, and which was continued yesterday by the miners of the first, second, and third shifts, and again today by the miners of the first shift, is of a political nature. The strike is organized by the enemy, although the pretext was the nonpayment of wages for the month of August. The enemy is exploiting the severe financial situation to continue its destructive activity, which makes for the further destabilization of the political and economic situation at the Stari Trg mine and the Trepca Combine, the communique states. The communique goes on to stress that the problem of the payment of personal wages is primarily tied up with the nonfulfillment of production tasks and that this month's production plan has been halved. Funds for the payment of wages were secured today and it is expected that production will resume.

Further on Strike

AU2809212489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Sep 89

[Text] In a statement from today's session, members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Titova Mitrovica stress that the strike in Stari Trg, which was begun by miners in the third shift on 26 September and continued yesterday and today by most miners in all shifts, has a political character and was organized by enemies, even though the reason cited for the strike was unpaid salaries for August.

Enemies are using the exceptionally difficult financial situation in order to continue their destructive activities which will have an effect on the further destabilization of the economic and political situation in the Stari Trg mine and the Trepca combine, says the statement, which stresses that the problem of the payment of salaries was above all connected with failure to complete production tasks. Only 47 percent of the mine's production plan for August was realized, which has put the other work organizations in Trepca in a difficult situation.

Hadzi Jonuzi, president of the temporary management organ of the basic associated labor organization for mining ore in Stari Trg, told us that the finances to pay for salaries has been provided and that they will be paid during the day, so it is expected that the miners will resume production.

Serbian Vico Interviewed on Republican Rifts

AU2609181189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17 Sep 89 p 5

[Interview with Ratomir Vico, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists, with Slavko Curuvija: "Divisions without Quarrels, Quarrels Because of Unification"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[Curuvija] Can it be said that by raising and radicalizing some issues the present leadership of Serbia has contributed to divisions among Yugoslav Communists?

[Vico] It can of course be conditionally said that the leadership of Serbia has "contributed to the current division." I would not say only by raising and radicalizing issues, as you said, but also through its uncompromising attitude and decisiveness to be fully committed to two issues: First, to stopping the terror exerted by Albanian nationalists on Serbs and Montenegrins and the threat to their physical integrity and fundamental human rights and freedoms, which means stopping the threat to the integrity of Yugoslavia. Second, in the changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and correcting Serbia's absurd situation in the federation whereby the provinces were in fact states and the republic was not. By gaining a victory over the long-term resistance to solving these two issues, the leadership of Serbia and the whole of the people of Serbia have created frustration and even hysteria among all those who were against this and who cannot reconcile themselves to the equal position of Serbia, and particularly the Serbian people, in Yugoslavia. Some statements recently have been showing that the acceptance of the constitutional changes in Serbia which was nevertheless achieved after long resistance among the leaderships in some republics, was forced by the situation. Politicians who said that they accepted these changes are now saying that with these changes Serbia infringed on the Constitution of Yugoslavia and the sovereignty of other republics. One politician from another republic working in the federation on the day that the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia was proclaimed, asked that the Serbian Assembly meet the next day to change the Constitution. You are surely familiar with the numerous claims voiced in articles, cartoons, statements, and speeches that the Serbian Constitution was illegally changed under pressure from tanks. Support for the strike in Stari Trg from some leaderships, especially the support expressed in Cankar's Hall, was a drastic expression of attempts to prevent these two issues being resolved. I think that there is no point in discussing this rift in an unspecific way, because every honest and benevolent person can see who is on the right side, or on the side of justice if you like. [passage omitted)

[Curuvija] In contrast to some intellectuals in Serbia and even those in the ranks of the traditional "critical intelligentsia" who are full of praise for some democratic statements in the document by the Presidium of the Socialist Republic of Serbia which offers ideas for a new SFRY Constitution, a considerable number of political analysts outside Serbia have reservations about the democratic range of these ideas. An "integrative role" is being insisted upon for the party, and political pluralism continues to be treated primarily as the pluralism of interests, from which the conclusion can be drawn that the Serbian League of Communists nevertheless does not want to concede even a part of its present political power to anyone.

[Vico] Is this a serious question?

[Curuvija] Yes.

[Vico] What you have cited is yet another in a series of erroneous and intolerable conclusions. In its draft document on the bases for the reform of the League of Communists, the Serbian League of Communists has taken a stand both against its own monopoly and against any other monopoly on political power. Second, one should not pay attention to some of the analysts that I presume you were talking about. I know about some who say that we have stolen their ideas and that we have collected all the possible democratic ideas in Yugoslavia and I also know about those who say that everything that is being proposed by Serbia is a centralist-unitarist undemocratic concept. However, seriously speaking, we are able to discuss the integrative role of the League of Communists in society at least in the form of the definitions that would go into the Constitution. In the Serbian League of Communists, we adhere to the view that the Constitution should not be concerned with the League of Communists. [passage omitted]

[Curuvija] After the current national homogenizations, has the time come for dialogue within a nation in each separate republic? After a seemingly firm and short-lived national alliance with its political alternative groups, the Slovene Communists are now entering into a generally unpleasant dialogue with them, and in the Slovene League of Communists itself—in the persona of France Popit and "some older comrades"—a trend has emerged that thinks in an essentially different way to the current leadership of the League of Communists of Slovenia about some very important matters. When will the dialogue begin within Serbia? This would mean above all a dialogue between the Communists of Serbia and the right-wing-oriented intellectuals of the type of the recently agile Dobrica Cosic and his adherents.

[Vico] There will be room and opportunities for dialogue within nations when the republics cease threatening each other. I do not otherwise see the situation in Slovenia in the way that you state. There is unfortunately a very firm alliance between different organizations in Slovenia and a great monolithism among them when it comes to Slovenia's position in the federation (analogous to the harmony of views of different parties in the West regarding foreign policy issues). You have seen that the difference is in the fact that the party leadership is

criticized for insufficient firmness with respect to supposedly unitaristic and centralist tendencies.

The Communists of Serbia have been conducting this dialogue within its nation for a long time; in the field of the economy with supporters of the consensus economy and opponents of pluralism and the equality of forms of ownership, and particularly with dogmatic views of private ownership, and in the political field, with supporters of a multiparty system and those who would make the League of Communists a social-democratic organization, but also with those who want to maintain the monopoly that the League of Communists now has in society. We are also talking with those who are inclined to claim that the League of Communists does not today have a monopoly in society at all. We are also talking with those who have replied to occurrences of separatism in Yugoslavia with the separatism of Serbia, and I will not continue the list. We have also reached stands through this and similar dialogue which we have presented in the draft resolution for the 11th Congress of the Serbian League of Communists and in the document on the bases for the reform of the League of Communists.

Cosic as an Excuse

Regarding the statements by Dobrica Cosic, does it not seem to you that from the point of view of eliminating what is threatening Yugoslavia and from the point of view of the necessity of searching for a solution to the way out of the crisis, it would be better for us, as the leadership of Serbia, to be called upon and invited to say what we think about the proposed constitutional changes in Slovenia, than for the leadership of Serbia and the legal institutions of this republic to be called upon and invited to reply to some sentences voiced by Dobrica Cosic no matter how mistaken they may have been. Dobrica Cosic is a great writer and had a great reputation among his readers but he is not the official spokesman of the republic of Serbia or of Yugoslavia. After all, you know that official spokesmen have also had to justify themselves for the remarks they have made as private individuals. Does it therefore not seem to you that some people are trying to turn a great writer's foray into the prohibited, into a basis for accusations against none other than the Serbian leadership?

This is the White Book syndrome. Its publication at that time should have been proof of the supposedly forthcoming mass movement in Serbia and of the repeated liberalism of the leadership of Serbia.

It is clear that not one patriot of this country can agree with the statement by Dobrica Cosic in the form that it was published in the Italian newspaper IL TEMPO, just as no one in Serbia could agree with his statements in Slovenia which once again concerned the borders and the possibility of the unification of all Albanians. Cosic himself has specifically denied that he thinks in the way that IL TEMPO wrote. However, it is quite certain that such statements are harmful because the fundamental issues of the integrity of Yugoslavia cannot be discussed in this way as they can also be exploited, as we are seeing. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

There Is No Serbian Paternalism

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia advocates that parts of its people in republics and provinces have the right to full national affirmation and this stand should not under any circumstances indicate paternalism toward the Serbs in other republics, because parts of more or less all our peoples live in all our republics and provinces. However, since you are in fact insisting on Serbs in Croatia and some events surrounding Knin, I will ask you: Are you really left indifferent to, for example, the proposal in the Croatian Assembly that the Serbian people be taken out of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. Should you feel happy that this proposal did not succeed or, in fact, more than disappointed that this proposal actually appeared at all and that such a large number of delegates, even from the associated labor sector, voted for it. As regards Knin, I personally think that it is quite natural that many parts of the public are disturbed by the content of the Knin judgments. It will sound like passing the buck, but could it rather be said that paternalism has been expressed, and this overtly, toward the Albanian nationality as regards the constitutional changes and the Pristina demonstrations and Stari Trg strike.

Drnovsek, Others Attend UN General Assembly

Arrive in New York

LD2409165289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0005 GMT 24 Sep 89

[Text] United Nations, 23 Sep (TANJUG)—President of the SFRY Presidency Janez Drnovsek arrived in New York today, where, from Monday 25 September he will take part in the work of the UN General Assembly. Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar and the members of the Yugoslav delegation, who will participate in the work of the UN General Assembly's 44th session, also arrived in New York by a JAT [Yugoslav Airline] plane. They were welcomed at New York's JFK Airport by the UN head of protocol and representatives of the White House and State Department.

Drnovsek will, as it has been definitely established, speak at the general debate of Monday 25 September after the presidents of Venezuela and Argentina. In the morning of the same day the Brasilian president and then U.S. President (Bush) will also find themselves at the tribune of the world organization. As has been learned, on the same evening, Janez Drnovsek will be a guest at a dinner given by the U.S. President for a number of his counterparts. During the stay of the president of the Presidency in New York, which is

expected to end on Wednesday 27 September, he is expected to meet the presidents of several countries.

Apart from taking part in the work of the UNGA, Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar will also during his visit, as it is unofficially learned, preside over a ministerial meeting of the nonaligned countries and host the almost traditional New York "Balkans meeting" which is to be attended by the heads of diplomatic service of other Balkan countries who are present at the UN General Assembly's session. Our federal secretary's schedule envisages also a number bilateral meetings. Our delegation's packed schedule is dictated by the distinguished reputation our country traditionally enjoys in the world organization, and Yugoslavia's new position as the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement.

Drnovsek Addresses UN

LD2509180789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0931 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—The president of the SFRY Presidency, Janez Drnovsek, in his capacity as the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, addressed the UN General Assembly today. Informing the world community of the results and messages of the 9th Nonaligned Summit in Belgrade, Drnovsek said:

Mr President,

It is my pleasure to congratulate you most cordially on your having been elected president of the 44th UN General Assembly session. As of the distinguished African country, friendly Nigeria, and a personality of great diplomatic experience and wisdom, you are eminently qualified to preside over our assembly.

At the same time I wish to pay tribute to his excellency, Mr Dante Caputo, the respected representative of friendly Argentina, for conducting the 43d session in a very successful way.

There are numerous reasons why I wish to express my special acknowledgement and gratitude to the secretary general of the United Nations, Mr Perez de Cuellar. I am referring above all to his significant contribution to the search for solutions to the most pressing world problems in the course of last year.

His view of the current state of international relations and his reflections on the status and role of the UN, laid down in his annual report on the work of the organization, deserve attention.

The 9th conference of the heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries recently took place in Belgrade, my country's capital. I presume you share our belief that that was one of the most significant international events of this year.

It is my great honor and responsible duty to acquaint you with the results of the 9th conference, expressed by the final documents and messages of this most important meeting of the nonaligned countries. I believe that by doing this I will also contribute to the consideration of issues on the agenda of this year's UN General Assembly session.

The heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries adopted a declaration, as well as several special documents on specific political and economic issues. The summit's documents reflect the Nonaligned Movement's view of the modern trends in international relations and its aspirations to contribute to these processes.

In short, this view may be expressed in the following way:

After a long period of tension, we have in recent years witnessed the situation beginning to change: tensions in the world are being reduced, something that bears a positive influence on the process of resolving certain lasting world crises and problems.

What is happening is essentially what the nonaligned have been advocated, albeit the situation is far from desirable. International relations nowadays contain characteristics of the old and the new. Detente is still far from universal, since there are still wars in many parts of the world. East-West political detente is not accompanied by North-South economic detente. The impoverishment of the South continues. Technological achievements can bring about enormous improvement in the quality of life as well as tragic destruction. In some places, human rights are an elementary precondition of life, whereas in other places they are a far-away goal.

The nonaligned countries assess that the world is at a turning-point. An acceleration in the progressive development of the internal community, as well as drastic regressions, may occur.

In an increasingly interdependent world, the nonaligned countries express their readiness to sustain their share of responsibility in solving shared problems. Therefore, they aim to consider those problems that attract the whole internal community's increasing attention, such as, for example, the issue of protecting the environment, the drugs problem, etc.

We have for decades been fighting confrontations in the world, aware that problems can only be solved through dialogue and cooperation. We are determined to cooperate to this end with other countries in the world by believing that realism will prevail over prejudice and dogmas.

The nonaligned countries have, in line with their views, put forward a number of areas which will have priority in their future work.

Efforts at preserving peace, disarming and peacefully resolving disputes are the first priorities. The term security is not reduced to its military component alone. Observance of the principles from the UN Charter, peaceful solutions to disputes, development, and the

observance of all collective and individual human rights is closely related to disarmament.

Now, when the process of real disarmament has finally been initiated, the nonaligned countries continue to advocate its consolidation and expansion. The total elimination of nuclear arms remains the prime goal. Yugoslavia together with other nonaligned countries, attaches top priority to a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests. We also advocate the completion of a comprehensive convention on banning chemical weapons and their destruction, as soon as possible.

At the 9th summit the nonaligned countries also stressed their readiness to fully contribute to the initiation and implementation of the disarmament process in global, regional, and subregional spheres.

I also wish to stress our support for the central role and responsibility of the UN in the sphere of disarmament. Such a role would be further confirmed by creating a universal system of verification under the organization's auspices.

The next priority is to jointly devise effective and acceptable solutions to the problems of international economic relations.

By hailing the positive changes in international relations, the nonaligned countries stressed at the 9th summit that "detente deprived of economic content can hardly be a lasting one." This laconic remark is explained thoroughly: The ever-harsher position of the developing countries, which prevents the majority of mankind from gaining access to technological and scientific achievements, is the most difficult obstacle for global aspirations for integration based on interdependence and cooperation on equal terms. Not only is such a trend an impediment to a faster and more harmonious development of the world economy as a whole, but it also represents a potential threat to global peace and stability.

In their analysis, the nonaligned countries percieve complex changes in the world economy: its increasingly recognizable multi-polarity, new technological breakthroughs, the consolidation of integrative groupings worldwide, the reforms in socialist countries.... These are the changes that inherently bring about new development potentials, although their development is not unambiguous, nor is their outcome certain. There are also new dangers of isolating oneself and excluding third parties.

In practice it is, however, ever more evident that the world economy can hardly be managed on the basis of agreements reached in exclusive circles.

The more favorable international climate, the growing awareness of interdependence, and the stable growth over a number of years in the developed countries may provde fertile soil for a new beginning of North-South dialogue and cooperation. In the messages of the 9th summit and the preceding ministerial meeting of the group of 77, the willingness of the nonaligned and other developing countries was unambiguously expressed to jointly seek effective and generally acceptable solutions to the crucial, and mutally interlinked, problems of foreign debts, financing development, trade, raw materials, and technologies, as well as to those specific and acute problems which burden the least developed countries. We believe that conditions have ripened for establishing a new global development consensus and that this is an opportunity which the international community ought not to let slip by.

I wish to empasize that the foreign debts problem of many developing countries is one problem to which solutions can no longer be postponed.

The prolonged economic stagnation in these countries and the constant drain of the accumulated means, via repayments of external debts, toward the developed countries' economies cannot continue without serious social and political consequences for the debtor countries and for the international community as a whole.

We support a certain evolution and signs of goodwill by the creditors to tackle this problem with more innovation and more prospects of solutions; nevertheless, we wish to stress that a quicker solution to this question is in the interests of all.

We do not expect that solutions to all problems can be found here, in the UN. A combination is necessary of actions at the national, regional, and global level. The specialized agencies and forums have their clearly specified role. Nonetheless, out of here, from this universal and most democratic forum, the political impulses and directions that are so badly needed ought to start flowing, in order to ensure that all activities will be mutually coherent and will lead to the creation of conditions for a speedier inclusion of the developing countries into the world economy's mainstream.

The imperative need for a new development consensus implies the political involvement of countries at the highest level. Hence, the timely idea about regular consultations of leaders from the North and the South is emerging and deserves our full support.

The next important priority for the nonaligned countries is support for the right to self-determination and independence of all people living under colonial or foreign domination. By reiterating their adherence to the goal of ending colonialism, the nonaligned countries have once again come out in favor of enhancing their own solidarity with both nonaligned and all other countries facing aggression, intervention, or interference in their internal affairs.

The biggest remaining colonial problem, i.e. Namibia, is, we hope, nearing its solution. The process of gaining independence in accordance with Security Council Resolution 435, which is underway has been the focus of attention of the entire world public, represents a victory for prolonged efforts, primarily within this organization,

to end the illegal occupation by South Africa. This process is entering its final but also its most critical stage. It is our responsibility by resolute action to thwart attempts to frustrate the UN plan at the last moment. The people of Namibia must not be prevented from expressing their own will in free elections.

To this end the nonaligned countries, in their special declaration adopted at the ninth summit, called on the Security Council and the UN secretary general to urgently take a series of measures to prevent all those violations of the UN plan which are ocurring at the moment. This time, however, the nonaligned countries alone have been taking necessary action. Their mission, which was in Namibia at the beginning of August on a fact-finding visit, will return there again to oversee November elections and to report back to the movement immediately. By its present and future actions of support and assistance to the people of Namibia, the Nonaligned Movement is, in line with its fundamental aims and priorities, showing its active solidarity with the people, who are only now gaining their freedom.

In accordance with the Movement's standpoints, the heads of state and government of the nonaligned countries most sharply condemned the continuation of the system of apartheid and called for maintaining the existing and taking new measures to end it. At the same time, by adopting the OAU ad hoc committee's declaration on southern Africa passed in Harare on 21 August 1989, they gave their support to the people of southern Africa and their orientation to try to end apartheid through peaceful means, through negotiations. This orientation is fully in line with the current juncture in international relations, and our organization must use its influence to ensure that this courageous and wise step by the peoples of Africa is not frustrated. Historical responsibility rests now with South Africa. Its options are either a path toward peace and cooperation in the region, or a path toward eruption of revolution of the oppressed people and bloodshed. All this is common sense and human in man says that there cannot and must not be such a dilemma.

There are other hotbeds of crisis and instability in the world that call for our urgent and complete attention. At this favorable juncture, the responsibility of membership in this organization requires us to deploy all our resources to completing, or at least speed up, the already initiated processes of solution and to re-start them in those places where they have faltered.

We believe that it is high time to meet the statesman-like and constructive stand of the PLO, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, with an appropriate and constructive reply from the other prime participants on which the peace process in the Middle East depends. By hailing every even partial move which brings this region closer to peace, we maintain that the remaining resistance to the convening of an international conference under UN auspices and with the PLO's full participation, must be overcome as soon as possible. A great majority of the world's countries has for a long time supported this realistic way of achieving an all-encompassing solution to the Middle East crisis and enabling all the region's countries to live on their territories in safety and peace.

The tragic escalation of the conflicts is further worsening prospects for achieving the unity, full sovereignty, and territorial integrity of nonaligned Lebanon and is prolonging its people's sufferings. The time has now come for all parties to invest their efforts in continuing the Arab tri-partite committee's mission, which enjoys widespread support, in order to break the vicious circle of violence and replace it with negotiations.

To achieve a political solution to the Afghanistan problem, it is necessary to consistently and comprehensively implement the Geneva accords and to ensure that the activities of all the signatories and trustees are in accordance with the provisions and spirit of these accords. This would facilitate the start of an internal Afghan dialogue aimed at establishing a government in which all representatives of the Afghan people would take part.

Although the international conference on Cambodia in Paris this summer did not lead to a comprehensive solution, the momentum of diplomatic efforts must not be stopped. No matter how slow and painstaking, the process of negotiations has nevertheless produced certain results which invigorate the hopes that the conditions will soon be created for Cambodia's people to have a say in their future. The withdrawal of foreign troops is certaintly the most significant step toward this aim.

The recent peace agreement between the presidents of five Central American countries in Tela, Honduras, has, we hope, removed the problems in the implementing the Esquipulas-II peace agreement. Welcoming actions by the secretary general of the Organization of American States toward international verification of the implementation of the peace agreements, I wish to stress my conviction that everyone's strict respect for these agreements is vital for achievement of lasting peace in the region.

The consistent and full implementation of Security Council Resolution 598 remains the basis for achieving an all-encompassing, just, honorable, and lasting solution to the conflict between Iran and Iraq.

Regarding the Western Sahara, we believe that the full cooperation of all parties involved with the UN secretary-general and the president of the Organization of African Unity is vital for achieving a just and definitive solution on the bases of UN and OAU resolutions. Despite all the difficulties, we believe that the continuation of the good services of the secretary general and the dialogue between the two Cypriot communities, in an atmosphere of improved overall international relations, will finally lead to a decisive breakthrough in resolving the Cypriot problem. The way to peaceful unification of

Korea is through dialogue and strengthening mutual trust, on the basis of the principles contained in the 1971 Joint Statement.

Mr President,

The next thing on the list of priorities for the nonaligned countries is the problem of environmental protection. The dangers today threatening the atmosphere, the seas, and the forests, threaten all countries equally and dramatically highlight the interdependence of the modern world. Starting from this conviction, the nonaligned countries have stressed their full readiness to contribute to the strengthening of global cooperation to protect and improve the environment. At the same time they have stressed that the realization of this goal is only possible in the context of growth and development accompanied by additional resources which would make it possible for the developing countries to embark upon the use of ecologically clean production processes and their active participation in global ecological cooperation. On these bases the nonaligned countries will, at the 44th session, advocate the adoption of a final decision on the convening of a world conference on the environment and development in 1992.

The next priority area is the full achievement of human rights and freedoms. The nonaligned countries stress that the right of every individual to fully enjoy rights as a citizen and political, economic, social, and cultural rights is the source of supreme inspiration for the Nonaligned Movement and one of its basic aims. In this way, the nonaligned countries have confirmed that they fully share the broad and growing conviction of the special importance of full enjoyment of human rights and freedoms, both collective and individual.

And truly, there can be no rights and freedoms of nations without the personal rights and freedoms of each of their members. Yugoslavia believes that the degree of enjoyment of rights and basic freedoms by individuals as a measure of a society's democratization and the scope for its involvement in the broader democratic processes in the world, such as we aspire toward.

Here it should be borne in mind, however, that citizens' and political rights are inseparable from economic, social, and other rights and needs of man, and that economic and social conditions in the vast majority of developing countries are very difficult.

Meet Perez de Cuellar

LD2609123789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2255 GMT 25 Sep 89

[Text] New York, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, had a meeting today with UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. On this occasion, the secretary general, who recently stayed in Belgrade and attended the Ninth Nonaligned Summit, highly appraised the results of the Belgrade meeting, expressing his expectation that the Nonaligned Movement will continue to offer support to UN actions to resolve international conflicts.

In the cordial talks with Perez de Cuellar, Dr Drnovsek stressed the identical nature of the Nonaligned Movement's aims and the goals of the world organization, stressing here the adherence of Yugoslavia, as the president of the movement, to the closest possible cooperation with the United Nations.

Perez de Cuellar stressed, in particular, the activity of the Yugoslav mission at the United Nations in the daily work of the world organization, assessing highly our country's contribution to the effectiveness of the work of the Security Council and other UN organs.

Also participating in the talks in the United Nations was Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs.

Meet President Bush

LD2609215589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1815 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] United Nations, Sept 26 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Janez Drnovsek, who is heading the Yugoslav delegation to the 44th session of the United Nations' General Assembly today had a brief meeting with U.S. President George Bush during a reception thrown by the U.S. President in honour of the heads of delegations attending the U.N. General Assembly session.

On the Yugoslav side, the meeting was attended by Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and Ambassador to the U.N. Dragoslav Pejic, and on the U.S. side, by Presidential Advisor for National Security Brent Scowcroft and head of the U.S. Mission to the U.N. Thomas Pickering.

Drnovsek Returns 'Ahead of Schedule'

AU2609150889 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 26 Sep 89

[Text] In the last few weeks, the proposed amendments to the Slovene Constitution have been a regular feature in our news programs. The number of accusations in some parts of the country concerning some of the proposed constitutional amendments has been growing daily. The tension grew extremely after yesterday's statement by the SFRY Presidency, adopted by the members of the highest state body during the absence of President Drnovsek, who is attending the UN General Assembly session.

Because of the latest events, Janez Drnovsek will return to Yugoslavia tomorrow, ahead of schedule.

Presidency Positively Assesses Nonaligned Summit

AU2109065889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 Sep 89

[Text] The SFRY Presidency has positively assessed the course and the outcome of the Ninth Summit Conference of the Nonaligned Countries. It adopted a preliminary report on the results of the Ninth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of the Nonaligned Countries in Belgrade, submitted by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs.

It was stressed that the declaration adopted at the conference, and the special documents on specific questions, reflect the views of the movement on the contemporary trends in international relations and the efforts of the nonaligned countries to make their own contribution to these processes.

It was pointed out that it was the general assessment by the participants in the ninth summit that Yugoslavia, and especially Belgrade, had shown themselves to be successful hosts of this important international gathering. It was also noted that all the services and organizations involved directly in the preparations and the work of the conference, as well as the public media with their efficient and accurate information to the public on the work of the conference, have functioned successfully.

The Presidency therefore pays tribute and expresses thanks to all who have contributed to and made possible the successful organization and the unhindered work of the conference.

Drnovsek Opens Zagreb International Fair

LD1809150789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0945 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek today opened the International Zagreb Autumn Fair, in which 3,300 exhibitors from 77 countries are taking part. Opening the biggest economic exhibition in the country, Janez Drnovsek expressed his belief that this distinguished event, marking its 80th anniversary this year, will contribute to all the exhibitors' business success.

Having addressed special greetings to the USSR, this year's guest of the Zagreb fair, the SFRY Presidency president went on to say:

The Zagreb fair is a traditional event and is gaining even more significance today. We have decided to divorce from administrative methods in the economy and political interference with it. Today we are implementing liberalization and deregulation of the economy, thereby we wish to create possibilities for the enterprise, invention and initiative of our workers and managers.

Our businessmen, Janez Drnovsek said, must channel their energy toward the market competion rather than to the overcoming of bureaucratic obstacles. Unfortunately, today's market competition is taking place in a very complex inflationary situation. High inflation deprives market signals of their significance, while enterprise is getting exhausted in the inflatory race or in attempts to protect itself from this race. We, Dr Janez Drnovsek went on to say, have no other choice but to resolutely face inflation. This struggle is extremely difficult as it is being waged under conditions of the years-long stagnation in the economy, falling standards of living, and of being still burdened with repaying foreign debts.

At the same time we are facing increasing social and intranational tensions and an increasing number of demands for changes to the political system. In such complex circumstances it is economic successes that we most need. They would offer new perspectives and provide our people with new hopes and self- confidence. In a stable economic situation and gradual establishment of a new economic rise, various irrational activities, which are being much discussed in our country today, would lose their support, enabling us to resolve political problems and dilemmas in a more relaxed and tolerant atmosphere. The SFRY president stressed that an efficient market economy, openness to a world, joining the processes of international economic integration, particularly those in Europe, is our aim.

These aims are inseparable from a stable political system, which would provide everyone with equal conditions and an independent legal system protecting every indivudal. Today we need wisdom and an assessment of our experiences and those of other countries in order to find a correct and undisturbed way out of the complex economic and political situation.

I believe, Dr Janez Drnovsek said, that the Zagreb fair is an event which contributes to a further development of market-based economic activities, and that in this role it is a significant element of our overall efforts to increase economic efficiency. At the same time the Zagreb fair has already today demonstrated the participation of our economy in international economic trends, and it confirms our intention to integrate ourselves even more into the world economy as an equal partner. [passage omitted]

Tamara Levina, first deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, pointed out that this year's participation in the exhibition of world achievments in Zagreb has a special significance for her country. For "this year our country has been granted the right to assume the role of a partner country. We in the Soviet Union are hoping that this will contribute to the further consolidation of our foreign trade ties, those bilaterally-based included too," Lavina underlined.

She also expressed satisfaction with the development of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation in all spheres. Such cooperation, she added, can of course be developed only if

there are appropriate politicial and economic conditions for it. Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia last year, his talks with Yugoslav party and state officials, and the shared Soviet-Yugoslav documents are firm foundations for the furhter improvement in our relations.

Positive trends and enhanced business activities are evident at all levels of our cooperation—from intergovernmental contacts to direct ties between enterprises and institutions. Although there are certain development problems they are nevertheless being solved by mutual efforts of both sides, opening up new perspectives of cooperation, Tamara Levina concluded.

SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek visited the hall of the Soviet Union, the country which is our great foreign trade partner and a partner country at this year's fair. He was interested in new products in the sphere of industry and agriculture and in perestroyka's effects. In the talks with representatives of the Soviet hall, Drnovsek was acquainted with the fact that Yugoslav-Soviet exchange is progressing successfully as is expected to total $37 billion in this 5-year term. [passage omitted]

Praises Fair Achievements

LD1809200489 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Sep 89

[Text] [Passage indistinct] Dr Janez Drnovsek told [word indistinct] journalists, about his impressions:

[Begin Drnovsek recording] The Zagreb trade fair, as always is very interesting. I have visited several stands, foreign and Yugoslav. My impressions are very favorable. It seems that business activities at the fair are under way and that this time again the fair will have very specific results. I am particularly satisfied when I see that our economy is showing itself increasingly well at this fair and this is an encouraging sign that we are going forward, that the economy can, in such difficult market conditions, adapt and achieve increasing success.

I am convinced that this 80th anniversary of the Zagreb trade fair will be successful, as befits this great anniversary.

Today we are fighting on several fronts—on the economic front, where we face inflation, economic stagnation. We are fighting on the political front of increasing intranational and social tension. These things are mutually linked and I am convinced that some initial success in the economy—new growth on the one hand—a stable growth without inflation, or with an essential reduction in inflation—would contribute a great deal to our overcoming political problems, which today are very acute. I think that we all need this economic success in order to restore our self-confidence and see an economic future. I am sure that in this way everything else will take a turn for the better, including political relations and all other things. [end recording]